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THESIS

The Dual Function of The Indonesian Armed Forces
(Dwi Fungsi ABRI)

by

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December, 1993

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13. ABSTRACT

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The Dual Function of The Indonesian Armed Forces
(Dwi Fungsi ABRI)

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Indonesia is the largest country in Southeast Asia consisting of thousands of islands rich in natural resources (particularly in petroleum, gas, and timber). Indonesia has a mixed economy and has great human potential, with over 190 million people. Indonesia has a tropical climate which at times features severe droughts, floods, and earthquake-generated tsunamis (tidal waves). Indonesia's territory occupies a strategic position astride the sea-lanes between the Pacific and Indian Oceans. President Sukarno was the first President (1945-1966). Sukarno and his followers declared independence, forming the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945. Sukarno tried to restore the position of the PKI (Communist party in Indonesia), but his efforts, plus evidence of mismanagement and misconduct, rapidly eroded his popular support. By March 1966, he was forced to transfer key military and political power to General Suharto, a leader who rallied the country to defeat the coup attempt. A year later Suharto was named Acting President; Sukarno died in June 1970.

Suharto shifted both foreign and domestic policies away from Sukarno's traditional ideology, setting economic rehabil-

itation and development as primary goals. President Suharto is both the country's leader and its Chief of State. He heads the executive branch and also the cabinet, which he selects. The unicameral legislature has a House of Representatives with 500 members, 100 of whom are appointed and 400 elected. A second body is the People's Consultative Assembly of 1,000 members, half of whom are selected through other than elective processes. The People's Consultive Assembly is the body that elects the President and the Vice-President and, in theory, determines national policy. The highest judiciary is the Supreme Court. Suffrage is universal for those over 18 and for married persons regardless of age.

Indonesia's military forces TNI[1] provide for national defense and also fulfill a major socio-political role. Under Sukarno the Armed Forces gained political influence due to weak, ineffective, and poorly organized civil governments and administrations. So entrenched, the Generals became difficult to dislodge. The military, overall, still showed a lack of trust in civilian authorities and of special interest or ideological groups. As a result, Indonesia's military has promoted the concept of a secular state in which all social groups exist in peace. The PKI (Communist Party in Indonesia) found it difficult to infiltrate the Armed Forces, and their

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[1]TNI is Tentara Nasional Indonesia or Indonesian Armed Force.

failure in the 1965 coup attempt, in fact, could have been predicted. After this watershed politico-military event the TNI purged its ranks of officers involved in the coup, and under the leadership of Suharto, combined the Army, Navy, and Air Force into a unified command structure, with the Army dominant and Suharto in control.

An Army seminar was held in August 1966 to develop and to legitimize the role that ABRI[2] would play in Suharto's New Order. Its conclusions were disseminated throughout all four services in a second seminar held in November, and they implicitly rejected Nasution's (Nasution was an Army Chief of Staff in 1951-1953) "middle way" concept of sharing national decision making with civilian authorities. Instead, the new ABRI doctrine held that "all the people's hopes for well-being are focussed on the Armed Forces in general and the TNI in particular...So for the Armed Forces there is only one alternative: to realize what has been entrusted to them... and to implement the aspirations of the people." [Ref. 1]

Accordingly, ABRI claimed that it must perform a larger role as both a military and social force. It initiated a process of internal consolidation that culminated in an extensive reorganization in the 1969-1970 time period and

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[2]ABRI stands for Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia or the Indonesian Armed Forces after the army, the navy, the air force, and the state police unified command structure.

emerged as the Nation's dominant political institution, forming the base of power for Suharto's rule.

ABRI's involvement in national life in 1982 was an expression of the *Dwi Fungsi*[3] principles by which the Armed Forces, as "fighters for independence and champions of democracy," regarded themselves as summoned to fulfill a function as a special-duty, a cultural force as well as welfare providers.

Although Suharto has acted to circumscribe the power of the Generals, he has also taken steps to enhance their image among the population in an effort to reduce dissatisfaction with the military's multifaceted role in society. Despite Suharto's resolve to lower the military's profile in Indonesia, it remains an entrenched political fixture. Suharto has urged that the military discipline themselves, behave as servants of the people, and refrain from inconveniencing villagers. Since political parties, villagers, and urbanites show no strong conviction to change conditions, a wary status quo will likely continue to characterize Indonesia's politico-military environment. [Ref. 1]

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[3]Dwi Fungsi ABRI or the Dual Function of the Indonesian Armed Forces are functions that exist and that are inherent in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia. They also form the mental attitude of every ABRI soldier which is that ABRI functions first as a defense security force and second as a social force.

The ABRI was born in the turbulence of revolution and has never been merely an instrument to maintain security. The ABRI has not only a military technical mission, but it has a mission in every field of social life. The ABRI, with its Dual Function in Indonesia, is the only group capable of governing the country effectively. It has a double function playing a central role in contributing to the Nation's development.

A. BACKGROUND

1. The National Revolution

The National Revolution was a struggle for survival for the new republic amid the Dutch's effort to suppress it through policies of military intervention and divided rule. The struggle was complicated by the emergence of conflicting forces within the republican camp. This period also saw the rise of the most important political factor of post independence Indonesia: the Armed Forces. The first encounters between allied troops, mostly British with some Dutch units, and republican forces were tense and hostile. Major violence erupted in Surabaya (the second largest city in Indonesia, located in east Java Island), on October 28, 1945, when British troops were attacked by a much larger force of Laskar soldiers and activist youth armed with Japanese weapons. This

was the beginning of the Armed Forces working together with the people.

2. Parliamentary and Guided Democracy Era (1950-1965)

In the 1957-1965 period of Sukarno's Guided Democracy the Army's position in the government was institutionalized. Vowing that it would neither be a "dead tool of the Government" nor assume total control of the nation, the army took what Nasution reffered to as the **"middle way"**, working with the civilians leadership through its representation in the cabinet, parliament, and the civil service.

For the last 25 years (1968 - 1993), national efforts have been directed at implementing development based on state guidelines[4]. Efforts have been made to solve basic problems of development, and many concrete and visible results have been achieved. However, at the same time the dynamics of development have brought about new problems that demand solutions. In the political sector, the 25-year period has been marked by continuous political stability never before enjoyed by the Indonesian Nation. Uninterrupted political stability has made it possible to develop the economy and other sectors in continuous stages according to plan. [Ref. 2]

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[4]Guidelines of State Policy, issued by the Consultative Assembly is the Five-Year Development Plan also familiar with the REPELITA.

This thesis will address how the Dwi Fungsi ABRI developed historically, its current role in national life, and how ABRI should perform in the near future.

B. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The primary objective of this thesis is to demonstrate the progress that the ABRI has made in the past 25 years. A secondary objective is to present predictions of how ABRI should function in the 21st Century.

C. THESIS SCOPE, LIMITATIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS

The scope of this thesis is not confined to any one specific organizational element of ABRI but rather to argue that the mission and organization structure of ABRI as a whole will not change drastically from 1993-2000.

D. METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed in this thesis research effort is primarily an approach through personal assumption, coupled with an extensive literature review of current books, periodicals, articles, and journals. These sources have helped to identifying ABRI's future trends.

E. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

An outline of the chapters is provided to give the reader a feel for the flow of the thesis. Chapter II provides a historical background of the beginning of Indonesia's independence, the history of the Indonesian Armed Forces, the development of the Armed Forces, and the development of the Dual Function of the Indonesian Armed Forces. Also discussed is how The ABRI adopted Dwi Fungsi and the goals of Dwi Fungsi. Chapter III is a measure of the institutions of the Dwi Fungsi's National Defense and Security and ABRI's National Defense and Security. The effectiveness of the Dual Function and the attitude of the people toward Dual Function is also explored. Chapter IV discusses the aims, responsibilities, and methodology of leadership and guidance concepts. Chapter V speculates on the future of Dual Function and discusses the ongoing influences of the Dual Function in society, especially in the economical, political, and technological arenas. Chapter V also discusses alternatives to the Dual Function. Finally, Chapter VI provides a summary of the researcher's conclusions and recommendations.

II. THE DUAL FUNCTION OF THE ARMED FORCES IN INDONESIA (DWI FUNGSI ABRI)

A. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

1. The Beginning of Indonesian Independence

a. *Geography*

Before discussing the beginnings of Indonesian Independence, it is necessary to acquaint the reader with the Republic of Indonesia. The Republic of Indonesia comprises the world's largest archipelago, spanning 5,120 kilometers (3,200 miles) from east to west along the Equator--roughly equivalent to the expanse of the United States from coast to coast--and 1,760 kilometers (1,100 miles) from north to south. Indonesia's 13,667 islands are nestled between two continents, Asia and Australia, and two oceans, the Indian and the Pacific [Ref. 1].

(1) **Main Islands.** Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Bali, Kalimantan, and Irian Jaya (the western part of New Guinea).

(2) **Area.** Indonesia's land area totals 2,034,929 km (782,665 mi) and its sea territory 3,178,412 km (1,222,466 mi), an area roughly twice the size of Argentina. Indonesia shares borders with Malaysia, Papua New Guinea and sea borders with Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, the Philippines, and

Australia. Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone, including contiguous seas, is 3,011,606 km (1,158,310 mi).

(3) **Major Cities.** Jakarta (the capital; 1990 census population: 8.2 million), Surabaya (2.5 million), Bandung (2.0 million), and Medan 1.7 million), Semarang (1.2 million) [Ref. 2].

(4) **Climate.** Equatorial, but cooler in the highlands. Temperatures generally range from 20 to 32 degrees Celsius (68 to 89 degrees Fahrenheit). Humidity ranges from 60 and 90 percent. Indonesia's "wet season" lasts from November through April and its "dry season," from May through October, with slight variations in its sub-climate zones.

b. People

(1) **Population.** With 186 million inhabitants in 1991, Indonesia is ranked the world's fifth most populous Nation after China, India, Russia, and the United States.

(2) **Annual Growth Rate.** 1.97 percent from 1980 to 1990.

(3) **Language and Ethnicity.** While largely of Malay stock, the inhabitants of Indonesian archipelago constitute a rich array of some 300 distinct cultures, each with its own individual language or dialect. Virtually all Indonesians are united by a common national language, Bahasa Indonesia (or simply "Indonesian"), based on the Malay language indigenous to the region [Ref. 3].

(4) **Religion.** A full 85 percent of Indonesians subscribe to the Islamic faith, ten percent to Christianity, two percent to Hinduism, and three percent to either Buddhism or Animism.

(5) **Education.** Ninety percent of Indonesians attend primary schools and 86.3 percent are literate. There are 49 state universities and over 200 private universities.

(6) **Work Force.** The work force is 77.4 million. Fifty-five percent are employed in agriculture, forestry and fisheries; 25 percent in service-related industries; and four percent in other areas.

c. Government

(1) **Structure.** Unitary Republic based on the 1945 Constitution.

(2) **State Philosophy.** Pancasila: five inseparable and mutually qualifying fundamental principles. These are: the belief in one Supreme God; just and civilized humanity; the unity of Indonesia; democracy through deliberation; consensus among representatives; and social justice for all. [Ref. 12]

(3) **National Day.** Independence Day, commemorating the Nation's Declaration of Independence on August 17, 1945.

(4) **Coat of Arms.** The Garuda, eagle of ancient Indonesian mythology, along with a shield representing the five principles of Pancasila.

(5) **National Motto.** Bhineka Tunggal Ika ("Unity in Diversity"), from the ancient Sanskrit language, signifying the unity of the Indonesian people as an integral function of their rich ethnic and cultural diversity. [Ref. 3]

(6) **Organization.** Executive: The President (head of state and government) and Vice President are elected for a five-year term by the people through their elected representatives in the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). Legislature: Five hundred members in the House of Representatives (DPR); 1,000 members in the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). Judiciary: The Supreme Court, an independent judiciary and the highest appellate body. General elections are held every five years to elect representatives to the MPR and DPR at the national, region and district levels. The MPR is Indonesia's highest authority to which the President is responsible. [Ref. 4]

(7) **Political Parties and Organizations.** Golongan Karya (Golkar); the Indonesia Democratic Party (PDI); and the United Development Party (PPP).

(8) **Administrative Regions.** Indonesia is comprised of 27 provinces, which are in turn subdivided into 241 regencies and 55 municipalities.

(9) **Foreign Policy.** Since its inception, the Republic of Indonesia has strived for an active and independent foreign policy. It espouses a non-aligned position by pursuing constructive, responsible relations with all nations. One integral factor in shaping Indonesia's foreign policy is its participation in the Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN), which it co-founded in 1967 along with Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore. Brunei joined in 1984. Indonesia was also one of the co-founders of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1961 and was elected in 1991 to head the movement from 1992 to 1995. In 1991, Indonesia also received worldwide recognition for its key role in obtaining a peace settlement for Cambodia [Ref. 2].

(10) **Membership in International Organizations.** Indonesia is active in the United Nations and many of its agencies; the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank; the Islamic Development Bank; the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC); the Asian Development Bank (ADB); Group of 15 (G-15); Group of 77 (G-77); the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) and others. [Ref. 5]

d. Economy

(1) **Indonesian Ranks.** The largest oil export in Southeast Asia. The world's largest liquefied natural gas

(LNG) exporter. The world's second largest producer of rubber, tin and palm oil. While oil and gas continue to play a significant role, Indonesia's economy is increasingly diversified. The country offers the international business community political stability, strong government support, commitment to a free-market economy, a large and easily trainable force, and vast natural resources. Indonesia also runs a liberal foreign exchange system. Individuals and firms may freely possess, store and transfer foreign exchange.

(2) **Natural Resources.** Oil, tin, natural gas, nickel, copper, bauxite, timber, gold and silver.

(3) **Agriculture Products.** Rubber, rice, palm oil, tea, spices, coffee and sugar.

(4) **Leading Industries.** Beverages, textiles, cement, construction, fertilizer, light manufacturing, wood processing, minerals and petroleum production and processing, aircraft and tourism.

(5) **Trade.** Indonesia's primary exports include oil, LNG, plywood, tin, rubber, tea, coffee, tobacco, palm oil, spices, rattan, and a growing array of manufactured goods. Its major export markets include Japan, the U.S., Singapore, the Netherlands and Germany. From its major suppliers Japan and the U.S, it imports food, chemicals, processed petroleum products, capital goods, machinery, and consumer goods.

2. The Struggle for Independence

The dawn of the 20th century was a period of upheaval in many parts of Asia. The Philippine people's revolt against Spain; the revolutions in China and in Turkey; the victory of Japan over Russia in 1905; all presaged a new era in Asia's relations with the West. In the 1870s, as the Dutch advanced into Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi, they instituted a new economic policy, which for the first time gave private investment a relatively free hand. One of the laws enacted under this new policy prohibited the sale of land to non-Indonesians. While this did not discourage foreign investors, since land could be leased for periods up to 99 years, there were few Indonesians who could afford to buy up substantial acreage. Consequently, the country was spared the problems of a landlord class, foreign or indigenous. The bulk of this private investment went into plantation agriculture or mining in the more recently acquired territories. The rapidly expanding population, coupled with virtual disappearance of new arable land, was creating a landless peasantry [Ref. 6].

a. *Nationalism, Revolution and Independence*

In 1908, the country's first nationalist organization was founded. A group of students in Batavia formed a club, called Budi Utomo or Glorious Endeavor. Within a few years, a host of still larger and more avowedly political organizations had sprung up throughout the archipelago. The

new movement envisioned not only an independent Indonesia but also a new Indonesian society, based on modern concepts of social and economic justice.

The overtone of social democracy, which permeated the nationalist movement from the state, was inspired by several factors. One was the set of circumstances surrounding its leadership. With few exceptions the nationalist leaders were members of aristocratic families, social and intellectual elite. Economic life was dominated by the Dutch and Chinese and, to a lesser extent, Arabs and Indians.

Another factor that impelled the movement in the direction of social democracy was the new Islamic doctrine that was finding its way to Indonesia in the early 1900s. A movement started in Cairo, in response to the impact of Western culture on the Moslem world, was seeking to modernize and purify the teachings of the faith. [Ref. 6]

Indeed, the largest of Indonesia's early nationalist parties, Sarekat Islam, founded in 1911, was led by a remarkable group of orthodox Moslems, who combined a thorough understanding of the Koran and its leader was the great Hajji Agus Salim. He was steeped in Asian and Western cultures, was fully at home in at least eight languages, and took special joy in demolishing communist opposition within Sarekat Islam by pointing out that Mohammed had been preaching the principles of socialist economics twelve centuries before Marx was

born. Sarekat Islam soon grew so vast that the Dutch authorities hastened to suppress it. [Ref. 1]

A few tentative steps were taken in the direction of Indonesian participation in their own government. An advisory council for the country, the Volksraad, convened for the first time in 1918 in which half were purely advisory and the other half semi-legislative, but it never fully exercised the functions of a parliament. On the other hand, Dutch laws regarding Indonesians included economic as well as political restrictions, and socially the usual mores of a colony prevailed. The standard affronts to the majority of the population epitomized in the signs barring certain places to "natives." What was remarkable was the extent to which traditional Indonesian tolerance kept nationalist agitation from becoming racist agitation. The leaders of the nationalist movement questioned, and they were of course abetted by the high value placed on overtones that have since emerged largely inspired by the events of the years of war and revolution.

Surprisingly, there was little violence during the whole period from the origin of the nationalist movement in 1908 until the Dutch capitulation to the Japanese early in 1942. The exception was an attempted revolt in late 1926, crushed almost as soon as it started. This poorly organized and overly ambitious scheme had been hatched by certain communist leaders in the nationalist movement. Although the

Dutch had little difficulty in suppressing the abortive coup, they were badly frightened by it and reprisals were extremely severe. Thirteen thousand Indonesians were arrested at once, 500 of them imprisoned and more than 1000 exiled to Boven Digoel, a prison camp in the impenetrable swamps of West Irian. [Ref. 1]

The new set of nationalist leaders, who emerged in the late Twenties and early Thirties, still dominated the political stage. Best known of all is the man who has been President of the Republic of Indonesia since its inception, Sukarno. Born in Surabaya in 1901, Sukarno was steeped in the atmosphere of nationalist politics from childhood. Sukarno lived for a time in the home of one of the great nationalist leaders, Hajji Tjokroaminoto, and took an active part in nationalist youth groups from his early student days. Although Sukarno received a degree in civil engineering in 1925 from the Technical Institute at Bandung, his energies thereafter were totally engaged in politics. In 1927 he helped found the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI), which soon became one of the largest as well as one of the most radical groups, taking an uncompromising stand for independence and rejecting any cooperation with the Dutch. Within two years, the authority had forced the party to disband and had arrested its leaders. Sukarno spent two years in prison and shortly after his release became the chairman of a new organization. [Ref. 1]

Arrested again in 1933, he spent the next nine years in exile in a series of remote and presumably politically safe communities. The numerous pamphlets written before and between arrests continued to be widely read, especially the famous speech he made in 1930 during the court proceedings of his first arrest, "Indonesia Accuses!" supposedly a statement in his own defense but actually a political treatise. [Ref. 6]

Mohammed Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir, tried their luck at building a smaller and primarily educational organization, hoping to escape the fate of the larger, more vociferous parties. They also remained in exile until 1942, being removed to somewhat less remote detention centers after a few years. Both Haute and Sjahrir had been educated in the Netherlands, where they were active in Indonesian student association, Perhimpunan Indonesia. [Ref. 1]

The many nationalist organizations that continued to spring up in Indonesia throughout the late Twenties and Thirties represented differing view points on many issues, including the key question of whether or not to seek independence through efforts in cooperation with the Dutch. But in spite of these differences, the traditional Indonesian belief in reaching decisions in which all can concur without resentment persisted. These heterogenous groups united in a federation that could present a solid front to the Dutch. There were three such federations in succession, the collapse of the

first two brought about mainly by Dutch suppression of individual parties within the alliance. But a new threat had appeared on the horizon, which, in the view of most Indonesian leaders, represented a greater danger to their ideals than Dutch colonial rule. The last of the three federations of nationalist parties, Gapi, was organized in 1930 on a four-point program, one of the planks being cooperation between the Indonesian people and the Dutch, in the face of the threat posed by the Axis powers. Gapi's request for a democratically elected parliament was rejected. After the Nazis invaded Holland, the Indonesian leaders declared their willingness to put aside their own struggle for independence for the time being, and once again offered their complete cooperation with the Dutch. The response was a solemn announcement by the Dutch government-in-exile in London that it did not consider the terms of the Atlantic Charter applicable to Indonesia.

b. The Japanese Occupation

The Japanese arrived a few weeks after Pearl Harbor, and the Dutch Army capitulated within a matter of days. Indonesians' bitterness at being left unarmed and helpless, unable to defend themselves and virtually undefended by the Duch forces, wiped out any hope of their reaching a working relationship with the Dutch at some future date.

The Japanese occupation of Indonesia was relatively short (three and one-half years) but of critical

importance for the future of the country. The Japanese were shorthanded and assigned many Indonesians to posts that had formerly been open only to the Dutch. This gave a number of Indonesians their first opportunity to hold positions of some responsibility. The nationalist leaders who had figured so prominently in the years preceding the war continued to play important roles, some working with the new rulers of the country, some maintaining underground organizations designed to aid the Allies and also to strengthen nationalist forces. Sukarno and Hatta, after consultation with other nationalists, agreed to accept the leadership positions offered them by Japanese authorities, with the ulterior purpose of using their posts to further nationalist ends. [Ref. 1]

The Japanese toppled the previously invincible Dutch from power; they gave Indonesians the opportunity to run much of the machinery of civil administration, and provided military training previously denied. They outlawed the use of the Dutch language and replaced it with Indonesian and Japanese; they permitted the display of the Indonesian flag and the singing of the Indonesian national anthem, both banned under Dutch rule. They deliberately played on Indonesian resentment of the Dutch to foster strong racist feelings, anti-white and anti-Pan-Asian. But blows to Indonesian pride, the brutal measures used in wiping out opposition, the heavy burdens placed on the people soon turned the majority against

the Japanese regime and in the process, gave considerable prestige and popular support to those who were later identified as members of resistance. Several million Indonesians (estimates run as high as four million) died during the occupation. Some were snatched away for forced labor and died building roads and railroads for the Japanese.

By 1945 most Indonesians were viforiously anti-Japanese, but when the Japanese surrendered, Japan immediately rescinded her promises of railroad construction for Indonesia. The Dutch government radioed instructions to the Japanese authorities in Indonesia to remain in command until Allied forces arrived. This move was a terrible blow to Indonesian pride; it also made it clear that if Indonesia was ever to be free, this was the time to act.

c. Declaration of Independence

On August 17, 1945 at 10:00 a.m. the Indonesian people declared their independence in a proclamation broadcast throughout the country and abroad. The Republic of Indonesia had been launched, but it took almost five years of conflict to establish its independence unchallenged. Fighting broke out immediately. The independence proclamation, issued by Sukarno and Hatta in defiance of Japanese and broadcast by Indonesians who had barricaded themselves inside the central radio station, touched off a Japanese effort to crush the infant Republic [Ref. 1].

The British had been instructed by the Allies to disarm and repatriate the Japanese forces, and restore Indonesia to Dutch rule. The Republic's Government was quite willing to have the already disarmed Japanese forces sent home. By arrangement with the British commanders, the Republic also carried the task of evacuating the 200,000 Allied prisoners of war and internees from the interior of the islands to the British-occupied centers. But when the British began allowing Dutch troops to land, fighting broke out. Unable to overcome this resistance, especially when many of their own Indian troops deserted to the Indonesian side, the British rearmed their Japanese prisoners and led them into battle against the Republic. [Ref. 7]

The Indonesian Government, after its pleas to the United Nations and to the President of the United States for help in negotiating a peaceful settlement had gone unanswered, moved its capital to Jogyakarta and prepared for a long struggle. More Dutch troops were brought in, and the Japanese were finally removed, but the British soon realized that the Republic could not be crushed by anything short of a full-scale war. A somewhat nebulous accord, the Linggarjati Agreement, was reached in November 1946, and the British then withdrew their forces. But the battle was far from over, for all that the Dutch had accepted was the Republic's authority over Java, Sumatra and Madura, and had agreed to cooperate

with the Republic in setting up two states composed of the other islands. These states, together with the Republic, were ultimately to be formed into an independent Indonesia linked with The Netherlands in a vaguely defined union. [Ref. 1]

In July 1947, the Dutch launched a full-scale attack on the Republic. After battling their way into the richest parts of Java and Sumatra, the Government of The Netherlands agreed to accept the cease-fire resolution adopted by the United Nations Security Council, which was brought into the picture at the request of Australia and India.

The Renville Agreement was duly signed in January 1948. Its terms allowed the Dutch to remain in the areas they had occupied in fighting and required the Indonesians to withdraw some 30,000 troops from those areas, pending the results of a plebiscite to be held in these disputed territories. The plebiscite never took place. The Dutch established a number of puppet states, which they hoped to play off against the Republic in further negotiations. This, as well as their stringently enforced blockade, now conducted on land as well as sea, violated the UN-sponsored accord. But despite clear evidence of these violations as reported by the UN's Committee, the Dutch were allowed to continue their attempts to strangle the Republic. [Ref. 2]

The blockade, which kept not only badly needed food but all medical supplies out of the Republican-held

areas, reduced living conditions to an untenable low. When a group of communist leaders decided to overthrow the Sukarno-Hatta regime, they found support from non-communists as well, and launched an internal revolt against the Republic, which started in mid-September of 1948 in the city of Madiun. The communist rebellion dragged on for almost two months before the Republican forces succeeded in putting it down.

3. The Development of the Indonesian Armed Forces

The 1945-1950 revolutionary struggle for independence provided a diversified experience from which the Indonesian Armed Forces evolved. During the colonial period, until the expulsion of the Dutch during the Japanese conquest of Indonesia in 1942, a small number of Indonesians, virtually all in the enlisted ranks, were recruited into the Royal Netherlands Indies Army (KNIL). Subsequently, the Japanese military occupation forces recruited Indonesia for use as paramilitary forces (Heiho). In 1943, the deteriorating military situation led the occupation authorities to organize a native militia. The Volunteer Army of Defenders of the Fatherland (PETA), and the three kinds of paramilitary became the nucleus of the nation's embryonic military force. [Ref. 1]

On October 5, 1945 after the Proclamation of Independence the People's Security Army was formed and those who renamed the National Army of Indonesia (TNI) in 1947 were mainly nationalists who sought to achieve both military and

political goals. They were aided in the resistance struggle against the Dutch. Experience during the struggle against the Dutch generally strengthened the military's concern for political involvement. Faced with superior trained and equipped Dutch forces, the Indonesians conducted a guerrilla war in which fighters had to rely heavily on the support of the local population. [Ref. 8]

During the war, struggles among national political factions also surfaced within the military influencing the character of the Armed Forces that emerged from the revolutionary period. Conflict between the regular Army units and irregular doctrinaire Muslim forces, especially followers of the separatist Darul Islam movement, acted to weed out many of the militant followers of Islam from the Armed Forces, leaving the military relatively free of ideological ties to any religious group. An attempt by the communists to seize power in Madiun on Java in September 1948 resulted in much resentment toward the communists. [Ref. 6]

In 1949, there were 500,000 armed fighters at the Republic's disposal. These men served primarily in the TNI to include the Air Force and Navy elements, but some were attached to guerrilla bands, an irregular force under the contract of local leaders.

In 1950, when the Armed Forces were given their official designation as the Army of the Republic of Indonesia

(ABRI), there were 200,000 personnel who were poorly trained and disciplined. In 1950-1951 under the leadership of Colonel Abdul Haris Nasution, Army Chief of Staff, administrative control was established by the Army, the Navy and the Air Force as separate services.

President Sukarno declared martial law throughout the country, assigning the Army wide powers over the national administrative apparatus in 1957. In December 1957, the Army was given the additional task of managing newly nationalized Dutch enterprises and agricultural estates, propelling the military into a position of economic influence.

In 1957-1965, the Army assumed control of the nation, working with the civilian leadership through its presentation in the Cabinet, Parliament, and Civil Service. To support the activist foreign policy of this period, especially with regard to the campaign in West Irian and the policy of armed confrontation with Malaysia, Sukarno rapidly enlarged the Armed Forces. The build-up mostly affected the formally negligible Air Force, and the Navy, which were generally expanded and given advanced arms and equipment acquired through military credits from the Soviet Union and allied East European countries. By the mid-1960s, Indonesia had one of the largest and best equipped Armed Forces in South Asia.

In the early 1960s, as part of his policy to contain the Army's expanding political influence, Sukarno encouraged

development of the Air Force, the Navy and the Police. The Police were designated as one of the Nation's Armed Forces. The Police were to act independently of the Army. Tension among and within the Armed Forces increased following the proposal in early 1965 to place advisors in each military unit and to establish a "fifth force" of armed rural and urban poor outside the control of the existing Armed Services. The proposal was rejected after communist sympathizers in the military attempted a coup in September 1965.

Fundamental changes were instituted in the organization, makeup, mission, and functions of the Armed Forces and the Nation. Army General Soeharto, to whom Sukarno was obliged to relinquish supreme authority in March 1966, was appointed President. One year later, the process of the unification of the Armed Forces and the centralization of their command, begun in 1950, was completed. [Ref. 1]

An Army seminar was held in August 1966 to develop and legitimize the role ABRI should play in Soeharto's New Order. Its conclusions were disseminated throughout all four services (the Army, the Navy, the Air Force and the Police). In a second seminar held in November, they implicitly rejected Nasution's concept of sharing national decision making with civilian authorities. Instead, the new ABRI doctrine held that all the people's hope for well-being are focussed on the Armed Forces in general and the TNI in particular. For the

Armed Forces there is only one alternative: to realize what has been entrusted to them, and to implement the aspirations of the people. Accordingly, ABRI claimed that it must perform an enlarged role as both a military and a social force (Dwi Fungsi ABRI). It therefore initiated a process of internal consolidation that culminated in an extensive reorganization in the 1969-1970 period and emerged as the nation's dominant political institution, forming the base of power for Soeharto's rule. Although the doctrine that developed in the immediate post-coup years continued to act as the basis for Armed Forces policies up until mid-1982, during the late 1970s national defense decision makers concluded that, in focussing their attention on the civic and internal security missions of the Armed Forces, they had allowed the nation's defense capability to deteriorate to an unacceptable level. Under a new Minister of Defense and Security, General Muhammad Jusuf, the Armed Forces military capability was slowly upgraded. [Ref. 1]

4. History of the Indonesian Armed Forces

For the history of the ABRI from the period of survival until the period of giving substance to the Independence, it is still necessary to introduce two preceding periods, namely the pre-national period and the reawakening period. It is also necessary to define nationalism, which forms the basis of this periodization.

According to Hans Kohln, a historian specializing in nationalism, in his book *Nationalism*, the concept is defined as,

> A state of mind inspiring the large majority of people and claiming all its members. It asserts that the nation-state is the ideal and the only legitimate of political organization and that the nationality is the source of all cultural creative energy and of economic well-being.

The supreme loyalty of the individual is therefore due to his nationality, as his own life that is supposedly rooted in, and possible by its welfare.

a. *The Pre-National Period (1800-1908)*

Though the Indonesians trace their history of the ancient empire of Sriwijaya and Mojapahit, little is known about the military in pre-colonial times. By the nineteenth century, the small Indonesian kingdom had exhausted themselves with intermittent warfare, thus facilitating the divide-and-rule approach of European colonial powers, especially by the Dutch. Indonesian princes and popular leaders tried to resist the onslaught of Western imperialism. Well-known are the names of Fatahilah who defeated the Portuguese flotilla in the Jakarta Bay, and Sultan Agung who tried to drive away the Dutch from Jakarta. Sultan Hasanuddin of Makasar (South Sulawesi), Sultan Tirtayasa of Banten (West Java), and Sultan Nuku of Tidore (Maluku) all tried to expel the Dutch from their kingdoms. Their resistance was futile, and in the end,

the whole of Indonesia was conquered by Western imperialism, especially Dutch imperialism. Most of the territory was physically occupied by Dutch colonialism. However, the struggle of the Indonesian people was not over. From the middle of the eighteenth century, revolts broke out against Dutch power, led by leaders of various backgrounds such as Diponegoro, Trunojoyo, Pattimura, Si Singamngaraja and many others. All their efforts failed because of their lack of modern warfare capabilities compared to western nations.

The struggle during these periods was often called "National Heroes in the Region" and was not based on a national foundation. Its scope was limited to certain kingdoms, while its aim was to defend the independence of the respective kingdoms against the encroachments of Western imperialism.

The Colonial Dutch government's effort to fill its needs for skilled and trained labor for its various enterprises had provided for the education of the Indonesian people. Through this Western education, Western modernism entered the Indonesian society and within a short period, an elite group was formed, which had modern nationalist aspirations and was acquainted with modern methods. Later, this group established and guided the nationalist movement to forge national unity and achieve national independence.The year of 1908 is notable for the foundation of the Budi Utomo, which

was formed by Dr. Sutomo. This was the first modern organization used as an instrument of struggle by the Indonesian people. This was the beginning of the Period of National Reawakening. [Ref. 1]

b. The National Reawakening Period (1908-1945)

During the First World War, Indonesian nationalist groups were divided as to whether the Dutch should conscript Indonesians into military service. Sarekat Islam, the leader of East Java, contended that unless native Indonesians were provided a representative body, in which they could freely express their political opinions, they should not be conscripted for defense purposes. Budi Utomo, the leader of West Java, however, basically favored conscription and hoped that military service would help the nascent Nationalist movement by instilling discipline in otherwise unruly Javanese youth. [Ref. 6]

By the Second World War, the Dutch had organized Indonesians into a Colonial Army as Kininklijk Netherlands Indisch Leger (KNIL). Leadership of KNIL was in the hands of Dutch officers. KNIL forces were comprised of companies from different regions. Thus troops from Menado and Ambon could be used to put down disturbances on Java, while Sundanese, Japanese and Batak troops could be used in eastern Indonesia. Many Indonesians viewed KNIL as a case set apart from, and occasionally against, Indonesian nationalist aspirations.

During the Second World War, Indonesia was occupied by the imperial Japanese forces, and the Indonesian nationalist movement faced a new situation. Having to face the military fascial Japanese regime, the most prominent leaders of the nationalist movement under the leadership of Sukarno and Hatta cooperated with the Japanese to prepare the people for independence, which had been anticipated to be accomplished at the end of World War II.

In 1943, the Japanese military government created two large organizations to provide manpower badly needed for their war effort. Heiho troops were established and organized as indigenous personnel as well as auxiliary troops for transport, road building, and anti-aircraft defense duties. Though occasionally armed, Heiho troops were more often used as servants and conscript laborers than as independent soldiers, so they received only two months of training. Nonetheless, by the end of 1945 some Indonesian people received military experience through Heiho.

More important for the future of the Indonesian Army was PETA, the Army for Defense of the Fatherland. Started in late 1943 by Japanese military intelligence, Peta was designed to assist Japanese troops to defend Java from Allied attack.

PETA units were organized as territorial defense forces rather than as maneuver battalions. Arms and uniforms

came largely from captured Dutch stocks. Though PETA was supposed to consist entirely of indigenous personnel it never reached autonomous status. The Japanese appointed Indonesian battalion commanders but these men received little training. There was no central indigenous PETA leadership above battalion level. Because the Japanese were wary of the fighting ability and loyalty of PETA and other forces, virtually no effort was made to train Indonesian Staff officers. PETA was not involved in any combat experience except rebellion against the Japanese in the city of Blitar East Java. [Ref. 7]

Because of the cooperation between the Indonesian nationalist movement and the Japanese Military Administration, Indonesia's leaders were able to complete the preparation for independence of Indonesia by utilizing the Japanese government apparatus. Owing to the deterioration of their war situation, the Japanese then gave the promise of independence "in the near future...." To prepare for the realization of this promise, the Japanese aided the formation of the "Committee to investigate the preparations for independence," the members of which were leaders of the Indonesian Nationalist Movement. This committee succeeded in formulating a draft of the Constitution including the state philosophy, which afterwards was known by the name of Pancasila. The proclamation was then announced on the August 17, 1945, from which Indonesia became an independent State. Now, though facing strong opposition

from the Japanese leaders, the time had arrived when the Indonesian people had to defend their independence from encroachments by the Dutch colonialists.

c. *The War of Independence Period (1945-1949)*

The situation faced by Indonesia after the proclamation of August 17, 1945, was full of imponderables. On one hand, there was the fact that the Japanese Empire had lost the war and had surrendered to the Allies, but its military forces stationed in Indonesia could be said to be still intact. Furthermore, they received an order from the Allies to maintain Indonesia as a colony. On the other hand while the Allies won the war, they did not yet have forces in Indonesia because they had to repatriate their internees and troops. Because of this, the Dutch were not able to come to Indonesia in time to take over the area. [Ref. 7]

Democratically, the national leadership had to face the task of establishing independence over the whole territory of Indonesia from Sabang to Merauke. The governmental instruments of power had to be established everywhere. The sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia had to be actualized from the proclamation itself. Facing such a situation, the older leaders stipulated a policy of diplomacy. All forces had been directed to diplomacy. Everything that might harm the independence effort was pushed aside.

Seen from a generational point of view, the leaders within the government belonged to the older generation, who were already established figures in the nationalist movement under the Dutch rule. Meanwhile, a new generation had arrived that was known as "the generation of 1945." The new generation wanted the formation of force, especially physical force. Diplomacy without the support of force could not produce the desired results. But the older leaders were the ones in charge of the leadership of the state, so it was they who had their way.

In accordance with the policy and strategy of diplomacy, the national leaders made strenuous efforts to build an image of a peace-loving and a democratic nation to the outside world, especially to the Allies. They were afraid of being called military.

This is the reason why they would not immediately form an Army but only a People's Security Body (BKR). Its function was not much different from that of the present Civilian Defense Organization. The new generation, not content with the decision of the national leadership controlled by the older generation, adopted two attitudes. Part of them decided to make the best of it, and joined the BAR at their respective localities. They made these BKR units instruments of state power and utilized them to capture weapons and government buildings from the Japanese. They considered themselves

freedom-fighters, and the BKR their vehicle of struggle. Another part of the youth movement formed the so-called "Struggle Organization" that had both military and a political character. It was clear that they too considered themselves freedom fighters. The People's Peacekeeping Body (BKR)[5] units were formed at the end of August, and during the following month the national leadership already realized that it was indeed impossible to have a government without an apparatus of power. This led directly to the formation of the People's Security Army (TKR) as a regular Army on October 5, 1945. [Ref. 8]

The fifth of October has since been celebrated every year as Armed Forces Day. Meanwhile, the Struggle Organization continued to exist beside the regular Army. Generally, they did not acknowledge the authority of the Army Command, which caused much trouble and confusion especially at the front lines. In 1947, by Presidential decision, the regular Army and Irregular Armed Groups were united within one Army that was called the Indonesian National Army (TNI). The Indonesian National Army consisted of a Ground Force, a Naval Force and an Air Force, based on the government decision in June 1946. The State Police subordinated themselves to the

[5]Badan Keamanan Rakyat

Prime Minister. That decision came into force on July 1946, and the first of July has been sanctioned as Police Day.

In 1948, at the height of the struggle against the Dutch, a communist-supported revolt occurred in Madiun, East Java. Today the Madiun affair is viewed by the Indonesian Military as the first example of communist betrayal, subverting the country even during the war of Independence. When the Dutch launched the second military action in 1948 against the newly born Republic of Indonesia, many of the national leaders were captured by Dutch forces. At that critical moment, General Sudirman, Commander in Chief of ABRI, made a historic decision, and refused to surrender. He joined his troops and continued to fight a guerilla war against the Dutch. His decision made the soldiers of the ABRI regain their self-confidence. Practically, ABRI was the only organization of the Republic that still survived and continued its struggle. Therefore, it was natural that the people did not lose faith in ABRI and thereby turned to ABRI for guidance.

d. The Liberal Period (1950-1959)

In 1950, shortly after achieving full independence, Indonesia adopted a parliamentary constitution in which the military was clearly subordinate to civilian authority. During this period there were over a hundred political parties on the scene, elbowing themselves into the power structure. During the nine-year period, Indonesia experienced eight

cabinets, each of them having a lifetime of approximately one to one and a half years. It was obvious that in such a short period of time a government could not do much for the people. [Ref. 9]

During this period, ABRI was kept busy with military operations to suppress rebellion in various parts of the country. Those military operations brought ABRI into close contact with the people in the countryside. Facing a deteriorating situation, it was obvious that ABRI should be called upon to do something in the political process in order to improve the welfare of the people. As political tensions heated up, President Sukarno needed the support of ABRI to find an effective solution to avert more chaos. With the support of ABRI, President Sukarno declared the 1959 decree, dissolved the Constituent Assembly that had failed to establish a new constitution, abrogated the provisional constitution of 1950, and reinstated the 1945 Constitution.

e. The New Order Period (1965 - Present)

Since 1964, the State Police of the Republic of Indonesia has been a component of Armed Forces. They are equal to the Army, Navy, and Air Force and are subordinate to the Minister-Coordinator of the Security and the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces. In order to achieve a better balance and to synchronize between efforts and objectives in the framework of implementation tasks in defense and security, on August 24,

1967, the President issued a presidential decision concerning the amendment to the stipulation of organization procedures in defense and security. [Ref. 9]

Furthermore in 1974, a presidential decision sanctioned, among other things, the alterations of the names of the Army (TNI-AD), the Navy (TNI-AL), and the Air Force (TNI-AU). The State Police of the Republic of Indonesia continued to use the predicate of the State Police of the Republic of Indonesia (POLRI). In the course of its history, the Armed Forces has always been the uniter and provider of safety to the Nation and the state. Nevertheless, the Armed Forces maintained its identity and always managed to overcome all threats. The identity and role of the Armed Forces is the upholding of Pancasila[6], and the ideals of the Indonesian Nation have been formulated concisely in the Sapta Marga (seven Pledges of the servicemen). [Ref. 6]

History has clearly shown that the Indonesian National Army in 1945 recruited voluntarily from the people and, at its birth, did recruit from the whole Nation to fight for their fatherland. A part of the National Army then became members of the Armed Forces; therefore, the Armed Forces emerged from the Nation and its fighting people.

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[6]Pancasila consists of two Sanskrit words, "Panca" meaning five, and "sila" meaning principles

5. The Dual Function of Indonesian Armed Forces

The ABRI is a modern organization. Its members are trained and educated people. The ABRI has a great interest in the modernizing process of the state and society and is eager to play a vital role in the process. The management and development of ABRI is dependent on the development and upholding of the whole state. In the beginning, the ABRI had only a limited role in nonmilitary activities, but then pressed by several crises, the ABRI has gradually been forced to enlarge its role.

The role of ABRI in society is officially formulated under the name of Dual Function. As we have seen in its historical background, the Armed Forces had its origins in the youth freedom fighters of 1945, both in the BKR Badan Keamanan Rakyat (People's Peacekeeping Body) and in the "struggle organizations". Out of the ethos of being a freedom fighter first and a soldier second, has come the concept of the Dual Function, namely the function of freedom fighter later broadened into the function of socio-political force, and the function of soldier later broadened into the defense and security function of military force. [Ref. 3] The definition of the Dual Function ABRI is:

> The Dual Functions of ABRI (Dwi Fungsi ABRI) are functions possessed by and adhering to the Armed Forces as defense and security forces and as social forces, in the context of the national struggle to achieve national goals in conforming with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. [Ref. 10]

ABRI is not only fully aware of its responsibility toward safety and security, but is also aware of the welfare and prosperity of the Indonesian Nation. The ABRI does not desire unlimited power. The Dual Function ABRI as one of the basic assets of the national development was declared by Consultative Assembly (MPR/Congress) in 1978. Figure 1 shows the scope of the ABRI in the national development under the Dual Function Doctrine.
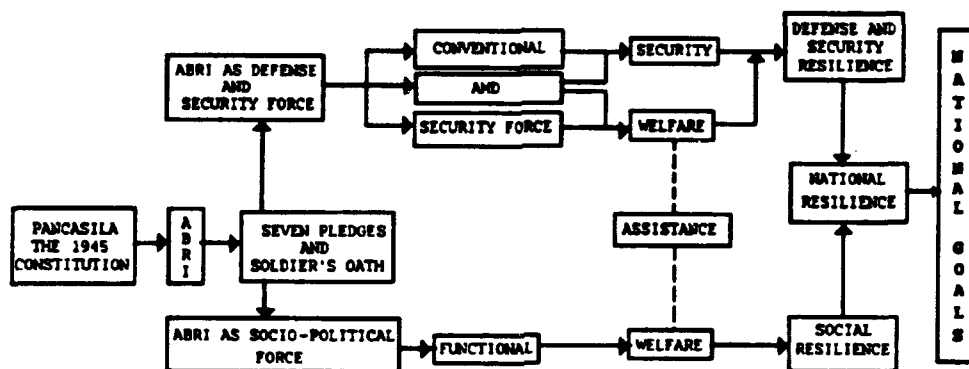
Figure 1. Dual Function of the Indonesian Armed Forces
Source: Republic of Indonesia Armed Forces, Manual on Dual Function of the Armed Forces

The ABRI's role in politics, economics, society, foreign policy and defense and security is based on the Pancasila Nation, the Seven Pledges and the Soldier's Oath held by military personnel.

a. *The Basic Philosophy of Dual Function*

(1) **Pancasila.** Indonesian Philosophy is Pancasila; it is expressed in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution as:

> We believe in an all-embracing God; in righteous and moral unity, in the unity of Indonesia. We believe in democracy, wisely guided and led by close contact with the people through consultation so that there shall result social justice for the whole Indonesian people [Ref. 12].

The five principles of Pancasila are the belief in one God, humanitarianism, national unity, consultative democracy, and social justice; and are repeatedly invoked by military officers as criteria to judge the efficacy of particular programs or threats to society or social groups. For the military, the Pancasila is above politics, it is not subject to public debate or ridicule; however, it may be invoked, explained and discussed to ensure better understanding and greater implementation. Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution are applicable to all Indonesians. [Ref. 4]

(2) **Sapta Marga.** The Seven Pledges (Sapta Marga) apply only to military personnel. The Sapta Marga are:

- We are citizens of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which is based upon Pancasila.
- We are Indonesian patriots, supporters and defenders of the ideology of the State, who are responsible persons who are not acquainted with surrender.

- We are knights of Indonesia, who are devoted to God Almighty, and who also defend honesty, truth and justice.

- We are soldiers of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia, guards of the Indonesian state and nation.

- We are soldiers of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia, holding fast to discipline, obedience and loyalty to our leaders, and upholding the attitude and honor of the soldier.

- We are soldiers of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia, emphasizing knightliness in carrying out duties and ready at all times to give devoted service to state and nation.

- We are soldiers of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia, faithful, keeping promises and fulfilling the Soldiers' Oath. [Ref. 10]

(3) **The Soldier's Oath.** The Soldier's Oath applies only to military personnel. Indonesian officers and enlisted personnel pledge:

- To be faithful to the government and obedient to the laws and ideology of the state.

- To submit to military law.

- To carry out my obligations with a full sense of responsibility to the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia.

- To hold firm to military discipline, which means submitting to being faithful, honoring and obeying my superiors, without contradicting orders or decisions.

- To keep firmly all military secrets.

The Seven Pledges and Soldier's Oath are mentioned after the Pancasila and 1945 Constitution as fundamental tenets of the Indonesian Armed Forces. In fact, Dual Function of ABRI is always guided by these philosophies [Ref 3].

b. *The Essential ABRI Dual Functions*

The Dual Function of ABRI is the spirit of service the Armed Forces takes up, together with other social forces, duties and responsibilities of the struggle of the Indonesian nation, both in defense and security of the state and also in development of the nation's welfare, in the context of achieving national goals. [Ref. 4]

c. *ABRI as a Social Force*

The aims of ABRI as a social force are:

- The materialization of ideals of the Indonesian nations as given in the 1945 Constitution.
- The achievement and maintenance of national resilience in all fields and in all aspects of the life of the state and people of Indonesia.
- The attainment of an equitable, spiritually and materially just and prosperous society based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution in Unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia. [Ref. 10]

d. *The Principles of Civic Duties of ABRI*

ABRI Civic Duties are activities undertaken by ABRI in conformance with their function as a social force, and constitutes the conduct of ABRI duties outside the fields of defense and security, carried out in the context of a national struggle to materialize national goals in conformance with the 1945 Constitution.

- The principles of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. With the obligation to comprehend, to apply in practice and to safeguard Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

- The principle of giving precedence to national interests. The placing of national interest above group and personal interests.

- The principles of ABRI service and identity. Based on the execution of duties with enthusiasm the ABRI spirit of service to the state and nation is accompanied by consciousness of the obligation to reflect the identity of Sapta Marga and the Soldier's Oath.

- The principles of supporting and safeguarding State Policies. Ensuring implementation of Government programs based on the 1945 Constitution, the broad lines of State Policy and Decrees of the Majelis.

- The principle of Security and Prosperity Approach. Testing and studying every matter based on considering the interests of security and prosperity.

- The principle of realism and pragmatism. Facing up to every question based on a realistic way of thinking, beginning from the actual situation and condition. Solving problems by giving precedence to those that are most beneficial to national interests and by determining accurate priorities and targets to be given precedence.

- The principles of unity of leadership and control. Creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding, mutual respect, loyalty and cooperation within the particular circle based upon the policy of superiors and avoiding the character of authoritarian leadership. [Ref. 10]

e. Targets

The targets of the ABRI as a social force constitute the targets of ABRI civic duties as follows:

- Target in the ideological field.

    - Stable materialization of the comprehension and practical application of Pancasila in the ranks of society.

    - The neutralization and elimination of threats to the ideology of Pancasila. [Ref. 10]

- Targets in the Political Field.

    - The creation of durable and dynamic national stability to support the success of national development and the maintenance of National Resilience.

    - The realization of the high level of national consciousness in the context of promoting the growth of a way of life conforming with Pancasila democracy.

    - The building of increasingly strong national cohesion and unity, the foundations of which are the comprehension and practical application of Pancasila. [Ref. 10]

f. ABRI Civic Duties are not Channeling of Personnel

Members of ABRI are given civic duties selectively and qualitatively, so as to fulfill the conditions required. This does not have character of channeling ABRI personnel to work outside the Department of Defense & Security, but, on the contrary, expresses the spirit of service and bears the mission of the Armed Forces to state and nation.

g. ABRI Civic Workers

The classification of ABRI Civic Workers who are performing duties outside the Department of Defense & Security can be as follows:

(1) Based on the status of their service. ABRI Civic Workers consist of:

- Organic Armed Forces Civic Workers, who are members of the Armed Forces with the status of active service.

- Non-Organic Armed Forces Civic Workers, who are members of the Armed Forces with the status of pensioners (Purnawirawan).

(2) **Based on the Circle.** Where they are on duty, ABRI Civic Workers carry out duties in the Executive, Legislature and Judicial, consisting of:

- ABRI Civic Workers at the national government level, who are given positions in national government level department, institutions, agencies, boards. This includes those working in the organizations under those bodies.
- ABRI Civic Workers at national government level in the regions, who are national government level ABRI civic workers whose duties are situated physically in level-I and level-II regions (provinces/special territories and Kabupaten/Municipalities).
- ABRI Civic Workers of regional level are given positions in agencies, institutions, boards belonging to level-I and level-II regional governments. [Ref. 10]

(3) **Based on Determination of Sub-category.** They can be distinguished as follow:

- Charged with Civic Duties. Active or pensioned members of the Armed Forces who are charged with civic duties in the form of occupying certain official positions.
- Active members of the Armed Forces who are charged with civic duties for fixed periods of time (2-3 years) and who may be recalled at any time. [Ref. 10]

h. The ABRI Family

In implementing development in all fields, the Armed Forces as a social force first of all involve the Armed Forces themselves as an institution, the employees of the Armed Forces and finally the ABRI Family. The ABRI family consists of:

- Organizations of Wives of ABRI personnel.
- The ABRI Pensioners Association (Pepabri).
- The Veterans Legion of the Republic of Indonesia (VLVRI).
- The Civic Servants Corps (Korpri) of the Department of Defense and Security. [Ref. 10]

i. *ABRI as Defense & Security Forces*

As Defense and Security Forces ABRI is an apparatus of the Government carrying out the duties of defense and security, facing dangers that originate either from within or without.

The strategic approach of the defense mission is deterrence. Together with the whole populace, ABRI has to dissuade any potential enemy from the threat or use of military force by virtue of the overwhelming people's resistance. The spirit of the freedom fighter is never to surrender, and to maintain the combat effectiveness and operational readiness of ABRI. Any enemy will face the militant masses of people imbued in the Pancasila, patriotism and spirit to never surrender. An enemy must face the fact that their objective shall not be commensurate with the losses and suffering they may experience. Their entire force and funds will surely be exhausted.

For the implementation of the Total Defense and Security System, the whole territory is divided into several Kodams (Regional Territory Command). [Ref. 10] The Kodam as

a strategic compartment constitutes a self-sustained strategic entity, and thus each of them has operational command authority as well as management authority. Operationally, the Commander in Chief of Kodam is directly responsible to the Commander in Chief of ABRI. For management matters, he is responsible to the Chief of Staff of the Army. In time of war and emergency, Kodam can stand on its own. [Ref. 1]

Under the Kodam, there are regular forces, namely Army battalions. In times of war, Kodam develops, manages and deploys citizens as well as regular forces. In times of peace, Kodam conducts territorial management. Territorial management is directed toward the materialization of space, means and conditions suitable for the total Defense and Security System. The main objectives are:

- A basis for resistance at certain levels of the region in line with the strategy and operational concept.
- An organized people's resistance force, which is well-trained.
- A functioning regional logistics system.
- A well managed supporting element.

Basically, a Kodam is located at the provincial level. It is structurally divided into KOREMs (Military Resort Commands), a KODIM (Military District Command) at the regency of municipal level, and a KORAMILS (Military Sub-district Command) at the sub-district level. At the village level there are a number of non-commissioned officers (NCOs) who are

responsible to the Commanding Officer of the KORAMIL. Their presence among the grass-roots of the population is very important in the actual day-to-day management of the territory. They constitute the tips of the nerve system of the defense and security of the state. [Ref. 1]

Another Army force is KOSTRAD (the Army Strategic Command). This force is basically a centralized mobile unit designed to reinforce Kodam in regaining lost territory. There is also a special forces unit for operational intelligence purposes. In wartime, the Navy and the Air Force will be jointly tasked with impeding, to the greatest possible extent, any adversarial use of Indonesian waters and approach areas, and degrading the aggressor's offensive capabilities in order to gain time and space for final combat preparation of ground forces. In peacetime, the presence of combatants of the Indonesian Navy should demonstrate the Government's resolution to safeguard the maritime interest of the economy. In addition, as with any other Navy, there are many other tasks which involve the Navy such as:

- To contribute to the maintenance of international law and order at sea.
- To conduct search and rescue operations on the high seas and in coastal waters.
- To foster international relations by visits of ships to foreign countries.
- To support marine scientific research. [Ref. 6]

The Air Force is tasked with collecting, by means of reconnaissance, information on the enemy's capabilities and intentions, and with participating in combat operations in accordance with the concept of joint operations. Counter-air operations should ensure the protection of forces and territory from air attack. They have to achieve an air situation which will enable the force to continue their operations. They have to degrade the hostile land forces' tactics and freedom of action and deny the introduction of reinforcements from an enemy's rear. The Air Force also provides support to the ground forces at the focal points of battle to support Naval Forces in air defense and air offensive operations. The air defense operational units are assigned to the KOHANUDNAS (Air Defense Command) to be able to respond instantly to any attack. [Ref. 6]

The State Police is tasked with the enforcement of law and order. Unlike other countries in general, the police force is put under the command of the Commander in Chief of ABRI. This is based on the concept of threat-expelling coverage of those areas subject to brutal spectra. This will also enable the Commander in Chief to obtain information on developing situations and to take preventive measures at the earliest opportunity.

B. THE ABRI ADOPTS DWI FUNGSI (DUAL FUNCTION)

1. Initial Adoption of the DWI Fungsi

The chronological history of the Armed Forces shows that ABRI always worked side by side with the people. The transition to a Guided Democracy during tension with the Dutch (over the issue of western New Guinea) led to the repudiation of the debt and the take over of Dutch firms by communist union members. The Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, which controlled most of the archipelago's shipping, was seized on December 3, 1957. The Royal Dutch Shell Company was seized on December 5, 1957. Then Nasution ordered some Army officers to take a role in managing these enterprises, marking the beginning of the Armed Forces active role in the national economy. [Ref. 1] Colonel Ibnu Sutowo was put in charge of a new national oil Company Permina. [Ref. 1]

In March 1960 a new legislature, the Home of People's Representatives Mutual Assistance (DPR-GR) was set up. Of its 283 seats, 154 were given to various socio-political or functional groups including the militia [Ref. 1].

On September 30, 1965, PKI launched an abortive coup. The movement was to radically change Indonesia's government and policy. The forces, which were composed of some pro-communist military forces under Lieutenant Colonel Untung of Sukarno's bodyguard troops, seized the radio station on October 1 and announced that they had formed a revolutionary

council and cabinet. They claimed to be acting to prevent a coup by a council of Generals. Within a day, however, the radio was back in government hands as a result of the quick response by General Soeharto (Commander of the Army's Strategic Reserve), and the Republic was secured by the Armed Forces.

The Armed Forces establishment, led by the dominant branch, the Army, has been the country's premier institution since 1966 when, it answered the call of the people and moved to the center stage of national life. Comprised of the three military services and the police, the Armed Forces operated according to a doctrine of their own evolution called Dwi Fungsi, or Dual Function, under which they were recognized as having a double role as both defenders of the Nation and as a socio-political force in national development. Under this doctrine, legitimizing their performance for both military and non-military missions, they have become the political arm of President Soeharto and have acted as a major executive agent of his government's policies. They have also continued to be an active force in the economic affairs of the country. [Ref. 1]

The Armed Forces have accepted and supported the foundations of the New Order--belief that economic and social development is the Nation's first priority and that social and political stability is absolutely essential if that goal is to

be achieved. The primary mission of the Armed Forces has therefore been to maintain internal stability. The maintenance of internal security is considered an integral part of national defense itself, that is seen in terms of the broader concept of national resilience that stressed the importance of ideological, political, economic, social, and military strength of the Nation. [Ref. 1]

In late 1982 Parliament gave the Dwi Fungsi principle a firm legal basis by replacing the 1954 statute that had served as the nation's basic defense law, with a new one that expressly states that ABRI is both a military and a social force. The new law was drafted by the executive branch. Unlike its predecessor, it is based on the principles of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution and confers formal legitimacy on the wide ranging powers exercised by the Armed Forces in the name of preserving and strengthening national resilience. In particular, it recognized the need for ABRI's continued influence in the use of natural resources and the construction of a basic infrastructure so that national development will buttress national defense. [Ref. 1]

2. The Goal of Dwi Fungsi (Dual Function) ABRI

a. In Conformance with the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution

The national goals are to: "Protect the whole of the Indonesian people and their entire native land of Indonesia and to advance the general welfare, to remove ignorance from the life of the nation and to contribute in implementing an order in the world that is based upon independence, abiding peace and social justice." [Ref. 10]

b. The Goals of the Dual Function of ABRI

The conditions that the Indonesian state and nation desire to reach are to be a materially and spiritually peaceful, just and prosperous society based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

3. Dual Function is Indonesia's Method of Choice

Considering the past and present conditions in Indonesia, it is obvious that the Dual Function of the Armed Forces has become a way of life for the Indonesian people. There are many approaches to prove that the Dual Function ABRI is the only viable method for Indonesia. The historical, the philosophical, the legal, the Archipelagic State Principles, and the National Resilience.

a. The Historical Approach

The ABRI was born from the people, was brought to maturity by the people, and is an inseparable part of the

people, struggling together with the people as a logical consequence of the independence.

The spontaneity of the Indonesian Nation in fighting to uphold, defend and maintain their independence in 1945, is an example of the spirit of the people. It was these fighting people that later became the Armed Forces. In its history, the Armed Forces has faced upheavals that could have undermined national cohesion and unity. The identity and role of the Armed Forces in upholding Pancasila and the ideals of the Indonesian Nation are described concisely in the Sapta Marga.

Since the inception of the New Order, the Armed Forces, through their function as a social force, have taken an active part and have played a role in national decision making processes in order to safeguard Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

b. The Approach of Philosophy

The Indonesian philosophy of Pancasila is the basis of the Indonesian outlook on life. Pancasila constitutes the ideals of the nation and state. [Ref 5]

Pancasila is a guide to the conduct of the state that is formulated and fixed by the Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (MPR) as the highest organ of state. It inspires all policies formulated by the government, which stipulates state policy in keeping with what is decreed by the Majelis.

In practical application, Pancasila is based upon harmony and balance, reflecting the attitude and atmosphere of the family principle and Gotong Royong[7] and emphasizes deliberations to reach consensus. Pancasila implies an obligation for all ranks of society, inclusive of the Armed Forces, to play a role and take an active part in the activities of the people and of the state.

The Dual Function of the Armed Forces that have their origins in the philosophy of Pancasila and that hold firmly to Sapta Marga and the Soldier's Oath, imply that besides being a defense & security force, the Armed Forces are also a social force. Both of these things are the materialization of their roles as Indonesian citizens, fighters and soldiers, who have a responsibility for the maintenance of national security and prosperous society that is based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

c. The Legal Approach

The preamble to the 1945 Constitution gave form to ideals of laws that dominate the basic law of the state, and so for this reason, law is a precipitation of philosophy, ideology, and history, that can take the form of policies and regulations.

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[7]Gotong Royong is an ancient concept of reciprocal cooperation, in which work is done together and the product or benefits are shared.

Decrees of the MPR (House of Representative) from provisional decrees number II/MPRS/1960 to Number XI/MPRS/19-66, Number XXIV/MPRS/1966, Number XLII/MPRS/1968, Number IV/MPR/1973, Number VIII/MPR/1973 and Number IV/MPR/1978 all constitute confirmation of the Dual Function of the Armed Forces. [Ref. 10]

The Dual Function of the Armed Forces have legality under the law, both written (the article in the 1945 Constitution and the Decrees of MPR) and also unwritten (the law that arises and is maintained in practice in the running of the state). This is why the Dual Function of the Armed Forces is related not only to Article 30 and other Articles of the 1945 Constitution but also to the entire contents of the 1945 Constitution.

d. Approach of the Indonesian Archipelagic Outlook

Archipelagic Outlook. The archipelago as an insight means the outlook and attitude of the nation, regarding the people, the nation, the state and the territory of the Indonesian archipelago known as "Nusantara," the land, the waters and the air, as a single complete unit, the parts of which are inseparable, and which also explains the implications of the motto "Bhineka Tunggal Ika" (Unity in Diversity). The Indonesian Archipelagic Outlook is the concept to achieve the aims of National Development that includes:

- The Realization of the Indonesian Archipelago as One Political Unity, in the sense that:

    - The entire territory of the nation with all its contents and resources forms one territorial unity, one place, one sphere of life and one set of norms of all the people, and is the asset and property of the people.

    - The Indonesian Nation, consisting of various ethnic groups and speaking a variety of regional languages following a variety of religions and faiths and worshipping God in various ways, forms one complete national unity in the broadest sense of the word.

    - Psychologically, the Indonesian people should have a sense of belonging, having one destiny, and one sense of responsibility of being one nation and with one motherland, imbued with a strong determination to achieve national ideas.

    - Pancasila is the only philosophy and ideology of the state and nation, whose basis is to guide and direct the Nation towards its goal.

    - The entire Indonesian Archipelago forms one legal unity that there shall be a national legal system serving the national interest.

- The Realization of the Indonesian Archipelago as one Social and Political Unity in the sense that:

    - The Indonesian society is one and lives in the pursuit of equal, widespread and balanced social progress such that life is in harmony and follows the advancement of the people.

    - The Indonesian culture is one, whereas the various forms are only a reflection of the cultural wealth of the people that is a fundamental asset for national cultural development to benefit the people.

- The Realization of the Indonesian Archipelago as One Economic Unity in the sense that:

- The potential and real resources in the territory of the Archipelago, are the collective asset and property of the people, and that the daily necessities of the people must be provided equitably throughout the country.
- The stages of economic development in all regions should be even and balanced without regard to the specific characteristics of the regions in improving their economic life.

- The Realization of the Archipelago as One Unity of Defense and Security in the sense that:
    - A threat to any island or region is in effect a threat to the entire nation and state.
    - Every citizen shall have equal rights and duties regarding the defense of the country and the people. [Ref. 12]

The Archipelagic State Principles are the conviction of the Indonesian Nation as to its existence in the midst of an environment where everything is stamped with the character of an archipelago.

Therefore, the Armed Forces, as both defense and security forces and social forces must regard the people, nation, state and territory of this Archipelago as a single integral unit, giving form to the Indonesian Archipelago as a political unit, a social and cultural unit, and a national defense and security unit within the scope of Pancasila and the Pancasila atmosphere of life.

e. *The Approach of National Resilience*

National resilience is the dynamic condition of the nation that contains our ability, integrity, perseverance,

and stamina in facing up to all kinds of challenges, threats, obstacles and disturbances, whether they originate from without or within our country, which, directly or indirectly, endanger the integrity, identity or the continuity of the existence of nation and state [Ref. 10].

Efforts are required to intensify the basis, the guide and the goal for all attitudes, undertaking and activities of the Indonesian people, and keeping the Sapta Marga spirit, the behavior of the Armed Forces, as supporters and defenders of Pancasila.

Efforts are required to intensify resilience in the political field is essentially based upon the politics of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The participation of the Armed Forces in the political structure can be seen from two angles, that is from the angle as defense and security forces, and an angle as social forces.

Efforts are required to intensify resilience in the economic field is needed to guarantee security. The stability of security has an influence over the facility and success of the development of national well being, and conversely successful in the development of national well being has an influence upon the stability of security. The Armed Forces have a great interest in the success of development, especially in the economic arena.

Efforts are required to intensify resilience in the social and cultural field. In the social and cultural field, ABRI is a social force that takes part in improving the Indonesian character and identity with Unity in Diversity. With a state of our own, the Armed Forces are able to provide an example, based on the fact that in all ABRI units, any religious leader may freely exercise his authority to teach and give guidance to his respective followers. [Ref. 4]

Thus, the Armed Forces with their various functions that are based upon the soul and spirit of service have a direct role in materializing stable conditions for the integral security of National Resilience.

III. THE MEASURE OF THE INSTITUTION

A. THE ROLE OF ABRI (THE INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES)

1. Introduction

After independence in 1945, Indonesia was under civilian government until 1965, with Sukarno as the President. But the internal conflict and the failure of the system to provide effective government had brought civilian government to an end after the Communist Party's attempted coup in 1965. A new government dominated by military personnel under General Suharto came into power, and began a new era called the New Order.

The Role of ABRI is as vanguard, stabilizer, and dynamist. For the sake of the success of national development in harmony with the development trilogy, the Armed Forces has assumed the role of vanguard, stabilizers and dynamists.

a. *The Amed Forces as Vanguard*

(1) Vanguard in the Ideological Field. The Armed Forces both as an institution and as individuals must, in their role as the vanguard of ideology, have an attitude to do things and behave in harmony with the spirit of *The Guide for the Comprehension and Practical Application of Pancasila.*

(2) Vanguard in the Forming of Character and the Nation's Identity. As an institution, the Armed Forces consists of members who come from many different peoples, religions and lines of descent, but they continue to be a compact and complete entity. The Armed Forces will always appear in the foremost ranks should there be threats or disturbances to national cohesion and unity. [Ref. 10]

b. The Armed Forces as Stabilizer

(1) Stabilizer in Legislative Institutions. Armed Forces Factions[6] play the role of synthesizing the interests of the other factions so as to apply the spirit of the family principle in solving all national questions with the guide that ABRI is to serve the interests of the people.

(2) Stabilizer in Overcoming Social Upheavals. The Armed Forces are responsible for national stability. Therefore the Armed Forces will always appear in the foremost ranks to overcome any disturbances to national stability.

(3) Stabilizer in Solving Social Questions. The realistic and pragmatic character of the Armed Forces can prompt the public in tackling all social questions. Based upon a realistic way of thinking and to start from the actual conditions and situations that the people face, giving prior-

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[6]Faction:Groups in the decision making process in representative bodies.

ity to values that are useful and in the national interests. [Ref. 10]

c. *The Armed Forces as Dynamist*

- Dynamist in development.
- Dynamist in the environs where they are on duty.
- Dynamist in circle of the political supra and infra-structure.
- Dynamist in heightening national discipline.
- Dynamist in establishing democracy. [Ref. 10]

2. Historical Background

This part gives an overview of the ABRI's role before the Independence until the New Order era and its influence in determining the national goals and policies.

a. *Before Independence*

For over 300 years, Indonesia had been a Dutch colony. It started in the early 17th century, when the United East-India Company, or VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie), was formed. In the beginning, VOC was no different than other Europeans who came to the Indonesian islands for spices. The company would buy the spices at low prices from the local merchants and then sell them at a very high price in Europe. Surprised by the easily-earned profits, VOC turned itself into a trading company with armed troops. It proved to be effective in protecting the company's interests. VOC would demand a monopoly from the local sultan or king, and in

return, the sultan would be protected by VOC. Often the sultan refused the offer, and as a consequence, war ensued. With a strategy called "divide et empera" (divide and conquer), VOC was able to take over the power of the sultans.

Fighting against VOC occurred continuously, but no one was able to end VOC's domination. Dutch colonialism continued until World War II, when Japanese troops landed and occupied the Indonesian Islands in 1942. [Ref. 1]

The Japanese occupied Indonesia for three and a half years. At first, they were considered saviors by the Indonesian people, for they freed them from Dutch colonialism. But later, people found out that they were no different than the Dutch. People even suffered more under Japanese occupation.

b. The Revolution, 1945 - 1950

Shortly after the Japanese surrendered to the Allied Forces which marked the ending of World War II, Indonesia proclaimed its independence on August 17, 1945. The Declaration of Independence was signed by Sukarno and M. Hatta; read by Sukarno in front of his house, and then broadcasted through a radio station. The next day, Sukarno and M. Hatta were chosen as the First President and Vice President by a committee.

The Proclamation of Independence brought the new government into conflict, both with Japanese troops and the

Allied Forces. The Japanese had a mandate to keep the status quo until the Allied troops came and took responsibility for Indonesia. The youth and freedom fighters, on the other hand, viewed the Allied Forces (especially the Dutch) as a threat to the independence of the new republic. They began to disarm the Japanese, anticipating war with the Dutch. In several cases, the Japanese were reluctant to cooperate, causing battles.

When the Allied Forces landed one month later, war could not be avoided. It was during this period that the Government formed the People's Security Army, which later became the Indonesian Armed Forces. In later years, the Armed Forces has evolved and expanded its role, not only as a military force but also as a political/economic/social power. [Ref. 6]

The War of Independence lasted for five years. There were several negotiations during this period. The Dutch finally recognized the sovereignty of Indonesia in 1950.

c. Parliamentary Democracy, 1950 - 1957

In 1950, shortly after achieving full independence, Indonesia adopted a provisional constitution that provided for a parliamentary democratic system of government. President and Vice President Sukarno-Hatta would perform the functions of a nominal head of state. Formal power would reside in the hands of a cabinet as long as it enjoyed the confidence of the parliament. But the real power would be

wielded by the party leaders who could make and unmake the cabinet. The cabinet could only survive if it was supported by a coalition of a number of parties, which together controlled a majority in the parliament. It was during this period that the cabinet changed several times--the longest was two years and the shortest was six months. This became the source for continuing political instability.

In 1957, the parliamentary system collapsed. The failure was caused mainly by the lack of foundations upon which representative democracy could be built. The Indonesian masses, mostly illiterate poor, accustomed to authoritarian and paternalistic rule, and spread over an enormous archipelago, were hardly in a position to force politicians in Jakarta to account for their performance. The politically informed were only a tiny layer of urban society and the Jakarta politicians, while proclaiming their democratic ideals, were mostly elitists and self-conscious participants in a new urban super culture. [Ref. 1]

d. Guided Democracy, 1957 - 1965

This period was characterized by a power conflict between the Army and PKI (Indonesian Communist Party), and also by President Sukarno's flamboyant leadership style. Sukarno was known for his ability to hypnotize the masses with words, slogans, and catchword concepts, which often formed the nebulous basis of a national ideology. [Ref. 7]

The Communist Party (PKI) cleverly allied themselves with President Sukarno to gain mass support. They also played a significant role in moving the foreign policy towards the Soviet Union and China. By 1962, PKI was the most powerful political party in Indonesia, and even said to be the largest communist party outside China and the Soviet Union.

Later in this period, President Sukarno became more and more authoritarian, and his foreign policy turned against the West. The tension rose as PKI became more and more aggressive, especially in rural areas.

In early 1965, the President's health was in such bad condition that a medical team from China was invited. The team then informed PKI leaders that the President would die within a year or so. Apparently, this stimulated the PKI leaders to accelerate the revolution.

On the night of September 30, 1965, PKI launched a coup attempt by kidnapping and killing half a dozen key Army Generals. It took several days for the Army Strategic Command under General Suharto's leadership to put down the attempted coup, and another several months to stabilize the situation as Moslems and military groups took vengeance who were suspected members of PKI or ethnic Chinese. [Ref. 1]

After this attempted coup, Sukarno was left with no support and was gradually forced into a position of political ineffectiveness. On March 11, 1966, for all practical

purposes, President Sukarno transferred power to General Suharto, by giving him supreme authority to restore order throughout the country.

e. *The New Order, 1966 - Present*

The New Order was marked by transformation of power from President Sukarno to General Suharto, after the 1965 coup. The People's Consultative Assembly, the highest government entity, appointed General Suharto as acting President in March 1967. He became the President of Indonesia in March 1968, and has been reelected every five years since. He is still serving in office for the 1993 to 1998 term. [Ref. 11]

Under General Suharto, the relationship with western countries was restored, confrontation with Malaysia was ended, and Indonesia retained its membership in the United Nations. The focus of the new government was to rebuild the nation through economic development. [Ref. 9]

B. EFFECTIVENESS OF ABRI AND ATTITUDE OF THE PEOPLE TOWARD DUAL FUNCTION

1. The New Order Government

The term "New Order" was coined to describe the transfer of power from President Sukarno to General Suharto. It expressed the determination to bring about a total correction of past errors (the deviation from Pancasila and 1945

Constitution) so that during the new lease on life that had been granted to the nation, a recurrence of the tragic events during the old order (Sukarno era) could be avoided.

The main differences between the Sukarno and Suharto eras are in the characteristics of government policy. Sukarno supported the idea of unfinished revolution, and emphasized the struggle against imperialism. Suharto, coming from a family of farmers, received very little Western influence and education, but put emphasis on economic development as a way to improve the people's standard of living.

Under the leadership of General Suharto, the government recruited economists to create an economic development plan. They proposed a long-term development plan for a period of 25 to 30 years. This long term plan was then subdivided into five-year plans. The first Five-Year Development Plan was implemented in 1969. [Ref. 12]

The government was aware that economic development needed a proper and suitable environment. Learning from the past, political stability was an absolute requirement. Based on the idea that ABRI is inseparable from the people, and that ABRI is the people itself, then ABRI is also responsible to give substance to the independence. This put the Armed Forces into the role of dynamist as well as stabilizer in the era of development.

2. The National Interests

The national interests and national goals in the New Order government are:

- Ensure survival of the state.
- Continue to foster national unity.
- Maintain and preserve territorial integrity against foreign threats.
- Enhance and promote national welfare and development.

These goals are the aim of government policy.

The strategy for achieving these goals is through economic development, with careful attention to political stability. This gives the military the chance to participate in the Indonesian development, not only as a military force, but as a socio-political force as well.

3. Overview of the Armed Forces' Involvement in Civilian Government

It is essential to understand that ABRI (The Indonesian Armed Forces) perceived itself as a reflection of the will of the people. In the period of achieving freedom and independence, ABRI grew from the people and fought side by side with them. Harold W. Maynard wrote:

> ABRI takes pride in having sprung spontaneously from the masses. It was not created by civilian politicians, nor by the Dutch or Japanese. Armed bands gathered, elected their own officers, and fought the Dutch; all without the benefit of centralized political leadership or logistic support. Because of this, ABRI perceived itself less an instrument of the state than as a reflection of the will of the people. And since ABRI was built from the bottom

up, it was difficult for the central government to enforce orders [Ref. 9].

The signal of new political assertiveness by the military can be traced back to 1955, when senior officers banded together and rejected a political appointee as Army Commander, which was a result of Parliament's interference with the Army's reorganization and demobilization plan.

In 1957, Military Officers were involved in nationalizing Dutch holdings as part of the campaign to liberate West Irian. Thereafter, they played a significant role in managing semi-public economic ventures and projecting the military into a national economic management role.

In 1958, Army Chief of Staff, General Nasution initiated the dual functions concept of ABRI in his speech at the Military Academy. General Nasution defined the ABRI position of neither being merely an instrument of the civilian government as in western nations, nor a military regime ruling the country, but as a social or people power similar to other social forces in Indonesian society. He referred to the notion of a "middle way" of a balance between ABRI being a milit ry force and one of the social power in Indonesian society. This was the origin of the dual functions concept of ABRI, which became a very important institutionalized value of ABRI leadership in later years. [Ref. 1]

The conflicts in Indonesian politics during the 1960s, which climaxed into the coup attempt by PKI (The Communist Party), had also brought ABRI to a decision to take active involvement in determining the nation's direction.

4. ABRI and Politics

Although one might be surprised by the number of military placed in the government's civil leadership, Indonesia is certainly not a case of a military regime ruling the country with military law. Except in an emergency situation, ABRI officers are not inclined to rule by fiat. Instead, they rely on "musyawarah," the traditional Indonesian practice of reaching decisions through mutual consultations.

a. *ABRI in Government Bureaucracy*

Senior military officers clearly dominate the centers of political power in Indonesia. President Suharto was a retired General, and if we mention the critical positions usually held by the military elite, the list might go like this: President, Vice President, State Secretary, coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs, coordinating Minister for Social Affairs, Minister of Internal Affairs, Minister of Defense and Security, Minister of Justice, Attorney General, Head of the Supreme Court, Head of Parliament, etc. [Ref. 9]

In government organizations that are most critical to maintaining social order and government authority,

such as) the Defense Ministry and Ministry of Internal Affairs, we might expect to see a high percentage of military leadership. Military control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs rose from less than 30 percent of the key positions in 1966, to 70 percent in 1971, and to 90 percent in 1982. Significant increases in military personnel were noted in the Ministries of Information, Social Affairs, Religion, Foreign Affairs, and Justice. [Ref. 11]

b. ABRI and Political Parties

Active duty members of the Armed Forces are not allowed to vote in general elections. Instead, the Armed Forces has been given a quota of 75 personnel as members of the People's Consultative Assembly, making 7.5 percent of the total representation. The reason is that the military should be unified and not fragmented by giving its personnel freedom to affiliate with political parties. [Ref. 1]

To keep political stability into control, especially during the first years, Indonesia's military elite has been instrumental in creating Golkar, a federation of functional groups, e.g., farmers, youths, laborors, etc., that effectively serves as the government's political party. Though active duty military personnel are not allowed to take leadership positions in Golkar, an advisory council of senior retired Generals directs Golkar election strategy from behind the scenes. Golkar was not founded on the Western principle

that political support should spontaneously arise from below, or that the national good is served by vigorous public debate of emotional issues. Rather, ABRI believes society can be conditioned and consensus arranged from the top.

5. The Indonesian Economy

When General Suharto came into power in 1967, the Indonesian economy was in shambles. Inflation was out of control, and export earnings were dwarfed by debt service on foreign borrowings. The per capita income was less than U.S. $100, leaving 60 percent of its population living below the poverty line.

Today, 25 years after the establishment of the New Order, progress has been made through the implementation of the National Economic Development Plan. Some of the progress includes:[9]

- Reaching in 1984 self-sufficiency in rice, the national staple food crop, after being the world's largest importer of the grain.
- Raising per capita income to more than US $600 today from US $70 in 1969.
- Reducing poverty from 70 million, or 60 percent of the population in 1970, to 27 million or 15 percent of the population in 1990.
- Attaining economic growth averaging 6 percent per year.
- Increasing industrial sector growth by an average of 12 percent per year, and increasing its contribution to

[9] President's accountability speech before the general sessions of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) on March 1, 1993.)

national production from 9.2 percent to 21.3 percent annually.

- Curbing the population growth from an average of 2.3 percent in the 1970s to 1.6 percent in the early 1990s.

Despite admirable economic progress mentioned above, Indonesia still faces the normal problems of an underdeveloped country. The gap between rich and poor seems to be widengwg, underemployment and unemployment are still serious problems. Congestion is acute in Java despite the government's sponsorship of an ambitious transmigration effort.

6. Foreign Policy

The aim of the government policy in general, and in foreign policy as well, is to pursue state survival and national development. In doing so, the government directs its policy toward creating harmonious relationships with neighboring countries while promoting foreign investment in Indonesia.

China was considered a threat by Indonesia for two main reasons. First, Indonesia was concerned about their demonstrated willingness to expand their territory, as proved by their invasions of Vietnam and Tibet, and that they could sweep down along the Malay Peninsula into Indonesian territory. Second, the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, who run the businesses, control over one third of the Gross National Product (GNP), even though their number is only about two percent of the Indonesian population. Indonesians fear that a

popular leader in China could incite these ethnic Chinese to rise in revolt. Indonesia's bitter experiences with the Communist Party's coup in 1965 was supported by China. [Ref. 11]

In economic matters, Indonesia is trying to attract development. Although rich in natural resources, Indonesia still needs help from other countries to explore and exploit the resources. But here, Indonesia also makes clear preconditions before accepting the aid.

First, the aid must come with no political strings attached. Specifically, Indonesia would refuse aid that was linked to human rights practices or called for a more representative political system. An example of this is the dismissal of IGGI (Inter Governmental Group on Indonesia), which had been a long-time creditor for Indonesia, because of The Netherlands' government interference with Indonesian (human rights) issues.

Second, the aid must be "soft" and within the capability of Indonesia to repay. Indonesia believes it has a lot to offer other countries, such as resource access and potentially huge markets. Therefore, Indonesia is content to shop around for its aid.

These policies are successful so far. Indonesia has replaced the IGGI with Japan as the primary lender and has managed to secure long-term loans with less than two percent interest.

7. Threat Perceptions

Indonesia has been more concerned about the threats of internal security than the possibilitv of external attack. The emergence of communism is among the major threats, because of the involvement of China and the economic power possessed by ethnic Chinese living in Indonesia.

Another concern is the threat posed by radical Moslems. Although 90 percent of the population is Moslem, most of them are nominal. Fanatic Moslems who advocate an Islamic state or press for secession are viewed as threats.

Besides those two major threats, others that could be mentioned here are: Separatist movements in Aceh (northern part of Sumatra Island), unbalanced development, underemployment, other economic problems, and also Western ideas and culture, like the liberal democratic idea, etc.

8. Epilogue

The "hot" topic in Indonesian politics in the next five years is the Presidential succession. President Suharto has been in power for 26 years now, and there is an indication (although not very strong) that he will step down after finishing this term (1993-1998).

For many years, people could not talk about the succession, because it was considered a sensitive matter that could provoke political instability. The discussion of succession involves the problem of "generational transfer."

A few years ago, "generational transfer" was frequently discussed. What is meant by "generational transfer" is the fear of the older generation (1945 generation, people who fought for and defended the independence) that the younger generation will deviate from the course already chosen for the nation. The reason for the fear is young people didn't experience the struggle of building the nation during the early years, and therefore (it is assumed) they are lacking understanding of people's sufferings. This matter was finally resolved by lectures and seminars that are mandatory for all military personnel, students, and workers in the government organizations. Now, the Vice President is a General from the younger generation officers.

IV. LEADERSHIP AND CONTROL OF ABRI DUAL FUNCTION

Leadership is the forming of character and identity. Control is the maintenance, intensification and consolidation of the services given by the Armed Forces as a social forces, enabling maximum efficiency and effectiveness.

A. LEADERSHIP

1. The Goals of Leadership

The goals of leadership are the forming of character and identity.

2. Main Duties of the Leadership

- The planning, drafting, orientating,the growth, mobilization and control of all undertakings and activities of the Armed Forces and Civil Service should be to serve the public.

- The supervision of the ABRI Civic Duties and Civil Services in order to achieve the aims and responsibilities of the agency or institution, in the context of national goals in which the ABRI Civic Worker is assigned duty.

- Providing administration logistics support in order to maintain preparedness.

- Safeguarding the execution of the tasks of the Armed Forces Civic Duties and Civil Services against all forms of challenge, threat and obstruction. [Ref. 10]

3. The Principles of the Leadership

Reaching the objective, quality personnel, adjustment of the environment, integration and loyalty to ABRI, and mutual devotion, training and care.

- The principle of reaching the objective. An outpouring of the spirit of struggle and service together with the use of the funds and forces available, for the sake of reaching the objective of Armed Forces Civic Duties.
- The principle of quality. The ABRI member assigned to Civic Duties should have the highest quality in the mental skills, abilities, knowledge, and experiences.
- The principle of adjustment to the environment. An approach to obtain harmony between quality and the situation and conditions of the environment.
- The principle of integration and loyalty to ABRI. As a place of origin, the ABRI member assigned to Civic Duties has the obligation to uphold the attitude and honor of the soldier and to hold fast to the Sapta Marga and the Soldiers' Oath.
- The principle of mutual love, training and care. [Ref. 10]

4. Leadership and the Civic Duties of the ABRI

a. *The purpose*

The purposes of leadership the Civic Duties of ABRI and Civil is Services is to reach efficiency and effectiveness in practice. Stabilize, rounded out ensure and uniformity of concepts, activities and operations in order that government duties are carried out efficiently and effectively.

b. The Goals

- Building up the ABRI as a social force; to achieve socio-political, a resilient ideology and politics among soldiers as Pancasila beings; to materialize a national ability to face up to and overcome all challenges.
- Developing ABRI Civic Duties in order to achieve the main task of the agency or institution in which the ABRI Civic Workers assigned.
- To maintain the psychological preparedness and abilities of ABRI Civic Workers by selecting and qualifying choice cadres.

c. The Vehicle Used to Achieve the Goals

The organization of the Armed Forces Civic Duties, educational institutions in the ranks of the Department of Defense & Security, communication and discussion forums among the instructors and Civic Workers of ABRI.

5. Leadership and the Psychological Attitude of ABRI

a. The Goals

Form and increase the psychological resilience of every soldier and unit of the Armed Forces. Pancasila Ideology can be utilized in the execution of ABRI duties, both as Defense and Security Forces and also as a social force creating personnel as Pancasila soldiers of integrity, who are persevering and able to accomplish all the duties given them.

b. The Targets

The targets are to be consolidated by the psychological building, spiritually building, briefing and general training, and the building of traditions among the

members of the Armed Forces assigned and Civil Service workers as individuals connecting with their units and environs where the Armed Forces are found.

c. The Vehicles Used to Achieve Psychological Attitude

Institutions, bodies, commands, units in the ranks of the Armed Forces, educational institutions and organizations of the Armed Forces Civic Duties.

d. The Methods

The methods are education and lectures, discussions, instructions and examples, also social contacts.

6. Leadership Through Education

a. The Goals

The goals of education are to form character and identity, to implant the spirit of struggle, heroism, patriotism, knightliness and the spirit of the reliable Indonesian soldier using the examples of leading national fighters and heroes from the old glory of Indonesia. Making each member, with varied backgrounds, of the Armed Forces into Indonesian citizens, fighters in the struggle and soldiers of high quality. Developing the basic attitude of Pancasila, Sapta Marga, The Soldiers' Oath, the Dual Functions of the ABRI; and the Philosophy and behavior of fighters in the struggle. [Ref. 10]

b. The Targets

The target is to form Armed Forces Soldiers who have high morale and the morality of Pancasila, Sapta Marga and the Soldiers' Oath; and demonstrates this philosophy in abilities and knowledge, behavior, skills and deeds.

c. The Vehicles of Education

Institutions, organizations, Commands and Units; all educational institutions in the ranks of the Armed Forces and the organizations of the Civic Duties of ABRI.

d. The Methods

Formal and non formal education/upgrading course, curricular education, seminar and discussions, and working tours.

7. Operational Leadership

a. The Goals

The goals of the Operational Leadership is to give general instructions, about the orientation of roles and duties that can be carried out, planned and continued for all the institutions, organizations, Commands, Units and organizations in the ranks and all members of the Armed Forces. In keeping with the level of their authority, responsibilities and duties.

b. The Targets

The targets are development of cohesion and unity of the Indonesian Nation. With solidarity of Armed Forces and

people as the starting point, increasing the general welfare of the people, consolidating their consciousness as Indonesians first and ensuring the defense and safeguarding of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, and intensifying National Resilience.

c. Vehicles of Operational Leadership

Vehicles are the organizations of the Armed Forces Civic Duties, all institutions, organization, Commands and Units in the ranks of the Armed Forces.

d. The Methods

The Methods are the Civic Duties of the Armed Forces, ABRI Masuk Desa (AMD) or the Armed Forces in the Village Program, ABRI voluntary work and Voluntary Work Operations, and coordinating meetings, lectures and the like.

8. Leadership of Leadership

a. The Goals

Ensure that every member of the Armed Forces whether in organs of the Armed Forces or in carrying out civic duties of the Armed Forces as Defense & Security Forces and as a social force. In the best possible way, through the application of the leadership whose source is Pancasila and Sapta Marga, the Eleven Principles of ABRI leadership, the Seven Principles of ABRI social leadership and communication and Eight Obligations of the Armed Forces, in an efficient and effective way. Develop public conviction over the good

intentions of the Government and the Armed Forces as embodied in policies programs.

b. The Targets

The targets are three kinds of materialization, first, national resilience as an absolute requirement and a means of reaching national goals, second national prosperity as the outcome of national development. Finally, national cohesion and unity together with the achievement of national capability and discipline.

c. The vehicles of Generalship

The vehicles are all institutions, bodies, Commands and Units, all organizations in the ranks of the Armed Forces, and cooperation and consultation between the Armed Forces and the people.

d. The Methods

The Methods are leadership by example, education and social contacts.

9. Promoting Cooperation with the Public and the Government Apparatus

a. The Goals

Implant mutual understanding with regard to the idealism, basic concepts, the legal basis, the benefits, and to maintain the existence and execution of the Dual Functions of the Armed Forces.

b. The Targets

Achieve the condition that the role of the Dual Functions of the Armed Forces in the life of society continues to be instrumental. A role that the public fully understands and trusts, that is accepted by all parties in society and also by fellow elements in the Government apparatus.

c. The Vehicles of Promoting Cooperation

Forum for social communication, inter Departmental coordination, *Muspida/Muspika*[10], Social Institutions, Non ABRI educational institutions, Legislative Institutions in the National Center, and Regions.

d. The Methods

ABRI social leadership and communication, especially, education and social contacts; Civic Duties of the Armed Forces; Armed Forces in the Village Program; Armed Forces Voluntary Work/Voluntary Work Operations; Coordinating meetings, lectures, and informal talks.

B. CONTROL

1. The Goals

To carry out management that covers research development, planning, programs, directives, safeguarding and

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[10]Muspida/Muspika: Two levels of non formal organization for deliberation among the local leadership of Army, Government, Police and Prosecution

evaluation of activities. To see ahead and to make adjustments for changes in the environment so as to be efficient, and to sustain the ability of ABRI personnel to perpetuate and adapt execution of the Dual Function of the Armed Forces.

2. The Targets

a. Research and Development

- The availability of data about execution of the Dual Functions of the Armed Forces that has had both a positive and a negative influence, for use as input.
- The availability of data about the influence of the methods and execution of the Dual Function of the Armed Forces in society.

b. Planning

The conduct of a system of management that is in good order, well led and controlled, in the reaching for targets.

c. Programs

Clear formulations that are efficient and effective in execution of the Dual Functions of the Armed Forces, seen from the point of view of personnel, material and of the time and funds available.

d. Directive

- The carrying out of orderly and smooth functional activities in order to bring into existence results of work that conforms with the target sets.
- The provision of pointers and instructions about the execution of the Dual Functions of the Armed Forces, particularly of the Civic Duties of the Armed Forces. Issue troops directions, containing information about the situation and conditions with regard to ideology,

politics, economics, social and cultural affairs and Defense and Security.

- The Civic Workers of the Armed Forces have the obligation to give reports to their superiors about the results of work and conditions in the environment where they are assigned duty.

- To conduct discussion forums and consultations/communication in order to ensure the maintenance of relations and coordination between promotor and the Civic Workers of the Armed Forces.

- Activity in achieving the targets of the Armed Forces service to the community are determined and regulated in work plans, operation plans, instructions and pointers that have been adjusted to the ability of the administer. [Ref. 10]

e. Safeguarding and Evaluation

Safeguarding of the Armed Forces personnel and units, which has a connection with the attitude, behavior and the abilities of the administer. Making evaluation of the Armed Forces Civic Workers and the results of their achievement in performance of their duties and obligations. Supervision is conducted in the form of formal super ision through fixed channels and non formal supervision [Ref. 10].

3. Administer

All institutions, organizations, Commands, Units, in the ranks of the Armed Forces, government, political processes, procecution, and the organizations of the Armed Forces Civic Duties.

V. THE FUTURE OF THE DUAL FUNCTION ABRI

A. NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDONESIA'S FIVE-YEAR PLANS

1. A Plan for Equitable Growth

In order to establish a just and equitably prosperous society in a material and spiritual sense, the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) of the Republic of Indonesia established the Guideline for State Policy and a systematic pattern of National Development.

Based on the premise that the essence of national development is the development of the complete Indonesian in all aspects of life, and the development of the Indonesian society in its entirety. The basis for the execution of national development, therefore, is Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

2. Principles of National Development

a. *The Principle of Benefits*

This principle maintains that all development efforts and activities should be used to the maximum benefit of humanity, for the advancement of the people's welfare and for the personal development of the citizen (Defined by the guideline for State Policy). [Ref. 12]

b. The Principle of Joint Efforts and the Family System

This principle maintains that all efforts to achieve the ideals and aspirations of the nation shall be achieved through combined efforts of the nation and the entire people carried out in the spirit of mutual cooperation and the family.

c. The Principle of Democracy

Refers to democracy based on Pancasila, covering the fields of political, social affairs and economics, whereby national problems shall, as far as possible, be solved through deliberations to achieve a consensus.

d. The Principle of Justice and Equity

This principle maintains that the material and spiritual gains of development shall be equitably enjoyed by all and that every citizen is entitled to enjoy the fruits of development that are normal human needs, each according to his share in the service to the country and the people.

e. The Principle of Harmony of Life

Refers to a harmonious balance between the various concerns, i.e., between worldly interest and those of the hereafter, between material and spiritual interests, between the concerns of the body and those of the soul, between the concerns of the individual and those of the

society, between the concerns of life on land, at sea and in the air, and between national and international interests.

f. The Principle of Legal Consciousness

Maintains that every citizen of Indonesia shall be aware of and abide by the law, and the state has the duty to enforce and to guarantee legal security.

g. The Principle of Self-Reliance

Maintains that national development shall be based on the confidence in one's own capabilities and strengths, and based on the identity of the nation. [Ref. 12]

3. The General Pattern of Long-Term Development

Based on the basic pattern of national development, the general pattern of Long Term Development, covering a period of 25 to 30 years, has been drawn up in an effort to give direction to the advancement and development of the nation to achieve the national ideals [Ref. 10].

This general pattern of Long-Term Development shall form the basic foundation for the formulation of the General Pattern of Medium-Term Development, i.e., this general pattern of Five-Year Development, a task which is entrusted to the President/Mandatary of the People's Consultative Assembly. [Ref. 12]

a. The First Five-Year Development Plan (Increasing Agriculture Production, and Improving Irrigation and Transportation System)

The First Five-Year Development Plan (REPELITA I), from fiscal year 1969/70 through fiscal 1973/74, emphasized the rehabilitation of the economy, particularly increasing agriculture production, and improving irrigation and transportation systems. The production of rice, central to the economy and the welfare of the people, was targeted to increase by 47 percent.

The government attempted to reach the objectives of REPELITA I primarily through increased public-sector investments. The development expenditure increased from 5-6% of GDP to 10-12%. Approximately half of the total development expenditure for this period was allocated to transportation, communication, agriculture, irrigation and subsidies for fertilizers.

Annual development expenditures increased more than threefold over the course of the First Five-Year Development Plan. Most production targets set for the first plan were reached, and rice production has exceeded the anticipated 47% by 25%. During REPELITA I, the development expenditure increase 7% of the GDP, that was also less than expected.
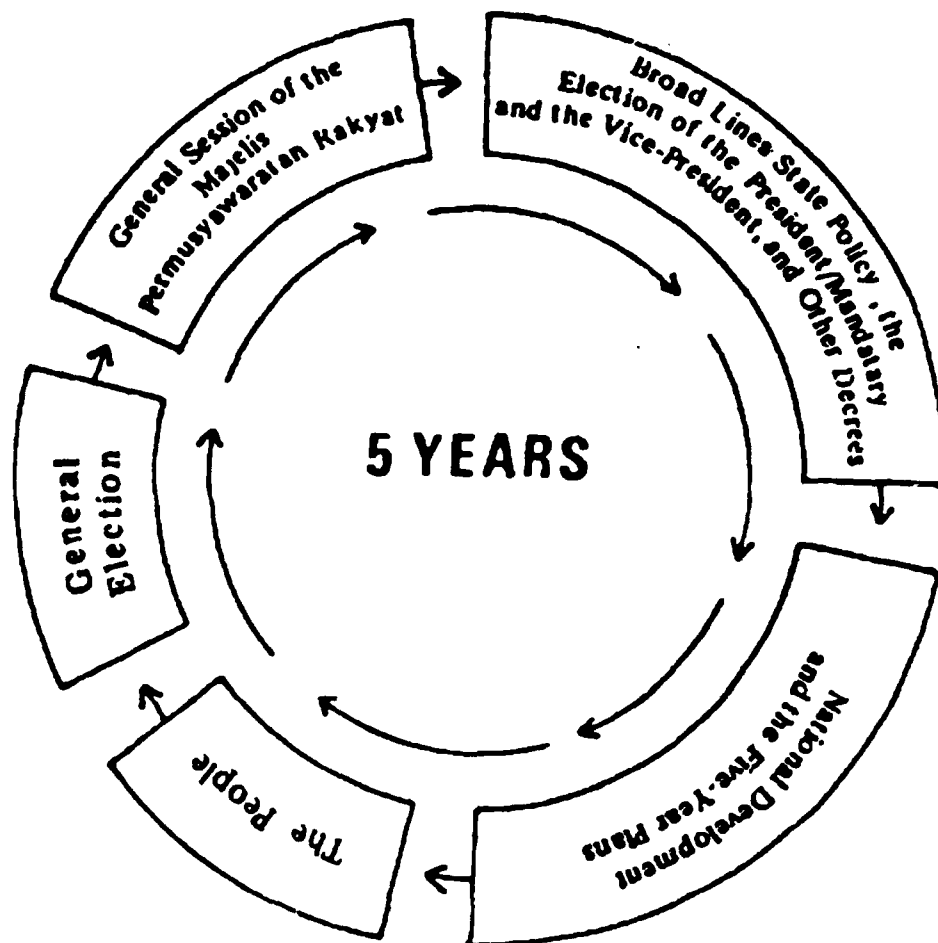
Figure 2. The Cycle of the Mechanism of National Leadership
Source: ***Republic of the Indonesia Armed Forces Manual on the Dual Functions of the Armed Forces*****. [Ref. 10]**

b. The Second Five-Year Developmant Plan (Increasing Living Standards

The Second Five-Year Development Plan (REPELITA II), from fiscal year 1973/74 through fiscal year 1978/79, focussed on increasing the standard of living of the Indonesian people. The specific objectives of the second plan were to provide better food, clothing and housing to improve and expand infrastructure, to expand and equitably distribute social welfare benefits, and to provide more employment opportunities.

The overall objectives of REPELITA II were largely reached; although, the average annual rates of growth of real GDP and real per capita GDP, at 6.8% and 4.7% respectively, were slightly lower than the target of 7.5% and 5.2%. The agricultural sector grew on an average annual rate of 3.4%, and rice production increased at an annual rate of 3.8%. [Ref. 2]

c. The Third Five-Year Development Plan (Promoting Growth and Stability)

The three fundamental objectives of the Third Plan, covering fiscal years 1978/79 to 1983/84, were to obtain a more equitable distribution of development gains for the welfare of the entire population, a sufficiently high economic growth, and a sound and dynamic national stability.

The oil boom, beginning in 1973, contributed significantly to the country's economy. The share of oil and gas to the export value during REPELITA III grew at a rate of 75.2% on a yearly average. Parallel to this there had been very satisfactory developments in the overall balance of payments.

The overall target of REPELITA III has been largely achieved; although, average annual GDP growth was only 6.1% and GDP per capita was only 4%, slightly lower than those of the previous period. Real growth in sectorial terms yielded a yearly rate increase of 4.18% in agriculture; 6.5% in rice production; 9.74% in manufacturing; 14.78% in electricity, gas and water; 8.82% in construction; 7.96% in transportation and communications; and 7.8% in trade, financial institutions and other services. [Ref. 2]

Improvement in the people's welfare was tangible: The number of inhabitants living below the poverty line dropped from 40.1% of the total population in 1976 to about 26.9% in 1981; the infant mortality rate fell from 103.8 per thousand live births in 1978 to 90.3 in 1983. The overall death rate dropped from 13.4 per thousand inhabitants to 11.9, and the average life expectancy rose from 52 years to 56 years. The literacy rate grew from 60.9% of the total population in 1971 to 71.2% in 1980. [Ref. 2]

d. The Fourth Five-Year Development Plan (Industrial and Agricultural Capability)

Taking effect as of fiscal year 1984/85 through fiscal year 1988/89, REPELITA IV put emphasis on development of the agricultural sector to continue maintaining self-sufficiency in rice, while promoting industries that could produce industrial machinery for light as well as heavy industries. Efforts to improve the quality of Indonesians' lives were also made. [Ref. 12]

The successes of the previous REPELITAs were confronted with challenges when the nation entered the period of REPELITA V.

Unfavorable global economic development and trends, as well as a drastic drop in world oil prices, induced the Indonesian government to take bold and effective steps from austerity measures to readjustments and reforms in various fields and encouraged and promoted exports of non-oil and gas commodities.

The economic growth during REPELITA IV was 5.1% on a yearly average. With a population growth rate averaging 2.1% per annum during the same period, the real GDP per capita had grown by about 3% per annum. In the meantime, the real growth in sectorial terms noted a yearly rate of increase of 3.5% in agriculture, 13.2% in manufacturing, 6.4% in trade, 5.0% in transport and telecommunication, 2.2% in construction,

6.0% in other sectors, but recorded a decline of .02% in mining and quarrying. The inflation rate during the period was recorded at an average of 6.6% per annum. [Ref. 10]

Improvements of the people's welfare have reduced the number of people living below the poverty line. In 1970, approximately 70 million people, or 60% of the Indonesian population, were categorized as poor. In 1990, 30 million people, or 16.6% of the population, were in the poverty bracket. [Ref. 12]

e. The Fifth Five-Year Development Plan (Preparation for "Take-Off" Era)

The Fifth Five-Year Development Plan (REPELITA V), from fiscal year 1989/1990 through fiscal year 1993/1994, is very decisive. It is the final stage of preparation to enter the outset of the "take-off" era. The major question facing this period is how to strengthen, consolidate and improve development in every sector of the nation in order to prepare for entering into the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan (REPELITA VI). [Ref. 12]

During this period, development in the economic field has been given top priority with emphasis on development in the industrial sector supported by reliable growth in the agricultural sector. With an average rate of population growth estimated at 1.9% annually during REPELITA V, the country's economic growth rate is correspondingly expected to average 5%

annually. Ascribed to such growth is the increase of production in the sector of non-oil and gas, which is expected to grow by at least 6% annually. The agricultural sector, during this period, is expected to experience an annual growth rate of 3.6%, the industrial sector 8.5%, and sectors of construction, trade and transport and communications are estimated to register an annual growth rate of 6%, 6% and 6.4%, respectively, and other sectors 6.1%. [Ref 12]

In line with the development of the economic field, which receives first priority, development in the fields of politics, socio-culture, and defense will be enhanced to eventually match and mutually sustain the development in the economic sector in order to better guarantee national resilience. Human resources development is also given special attention.

In the first, long-term development to finish at the Fifth Five-Year Development Plan (1969-1994), Indonesia has created a basic framework secure enough in the economic field, political field, and social culture but also secure in defense and security. This is a starting point for further growth and development so that in the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan Indonesia can enter into the "take off" era process.

In the economic sector, various achievements are worthy of note. A sufficiently high economic growth has been achieved in spite of the fact that Indonesia has gone through

many difficult years that have tended to hamper economic growth. In about 25 years, the per capita income of Indonesians, in terms of current prices in U.S. Dollars, has risen eight-fold from about US $70 in 1969 to about US $600 at present.

In the political sector, Indonesia has been multi-dimensional. Internally, political development has resulted in the adoption of Pancasila as the sole basis for societal, national and state life. Indonesia's energy is no longer tied up in debating ideology but can instead be directed to the acceleration of development. The benefits of which can be enjoyed by the people. In the stable conditions that prevail, Pancasila democracy and its implementation in the Indonesian nation has continued to be strengthened. Externally, the successful development of political and other sectors is reflected by Indonesia's increasingly important regional and global political role. An important indication of this was Indonesia's selection to lead the Non-Aligned Movement in 1992. Indonesia's success in political development has subsequently enabled her to build strong foundations in the areas of economics, socio-cultural life, religion, defense and security.

In the area of foreign policy, Indonesia has shown herself to be a responsible and an active participant in ASEAN. As a long-standing member of the United Nations

Organization (UNO). Indonesia also maintains a close association with such groups as the World Health Organization (WHO), UNICEF, and Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Indonesia was chosen by NAM member countries to chair the Movement. Indonesia participates in international economic organizations including the Group of 77 and OPEC. Since 1966, Indonesia has welcomed and maintained close relations with the United States, European Countries, Australia, and Japan. Diplomatic ties with China were normalized in 1990 after a 23-year freeze. In addition, Indonesia led a major initiative to foster a peace plan for Cambodia. Indonesia also participated (as a member) in the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the G-15 Summit, the Earth Summit, and the UN General Assembly in 1992. [Ref. 12]

In the social welfare area, efforts have been directed to assist the unfortunate to overcome problems resulting from poverty, backwardness, negligence, social disability, natural disaster, and other misfortunes.

The goals of defense and security have been realized--the defense of the national struggle including increased defense capabilities and the nation's stability. [Ref. 5]

By all indications, Indonesia will enter into the second long-term era (Second 25-Year Development Plan),

beginning with the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan REPELITA VI.

The objectives of the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan are:

- To rouse an independent attitude for the Indonesian people in a framework which enhances the quality of human resources to create a just and prosperous society in which balanced material and spiritual welfare are equitably distributed among the population.

- To create a stable foundation for the development of the next phase.

f. General Target of the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan

The general target of the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan is to develop an independent attitude for the Indonesian people that increases participation, efficiency, and productivity in order to enhance the level of life, intelligence, and to be internally and externally prosperous. [Ref. 12] In the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan, the development policy still remains which leans on the *"Trilogy of Development."*[11]

B. ROLE OF THE DUAL FUNCTION OF ABRI INTO THE YEAR 2000

The Role Of the Dual Function ABRI has been proven during a quarter century of progress (1968 - 1993). The Fifth Five-

[11]Trilogy of Development encompasses, in equal measure, stability, growth and equitable distribution of development gains.

Year Development Plan (REPELITA V) is the final phase of the 25-Year Long Term Development Plan (PJP1[12], 1969/1970 - 1993/1994). The guidelines of state policy, issued by the Constitutive Assembly, also emphasizes economic development, while development in other sectors is carried out in accordance with the progress achieved in the economic sector.

The main objective of PJP1 has been to create a strong foundation that will enable Indonesia to grow and develop on its own towards a Pancasila-based, just and prosperous society. The three elements of the Trilogy of Development are interrelated and need to be developed in a harmonious, integrated and mutually strengthened manner. [Ref. 13] The goals have been to create a solid foundation for Indonesia to enter into the first stage of the take-off process, which starts in REPELITA VI.

In the first stage of the "take-off" era beginning from 1993/1994 through 1998/1999, the dual function ABRI will have a more challenging task to protect and to support the state programs. To achieve the government's goals, the ABRI (together with the people in the concept of dual function) will gather all of the capabilities of state defense and security with the fundamental concept of the "Total People's System of Defense and Security." [Ref 4] Based on science and

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[12]PJP 1 : Pembangunan Jangka Panjang ke 1 (First 25-Year Development Plan)

technological developments, they will organize a well-trained people. ABRI will provide protection for the people to synchronize needs and capabilities and to develop the Indonesian Armed Forces into an efficient, effective, modernized and capable force. This will be supported by the people's loyalty to ABRI and therefore will enhance the integrity of the management and help prepare the component supporters in defense and security.

Increasing support of ABRI and fully assessing the Indonesian strategy, it should be remembered that the ABRI is not satisfied with only securing external defense and domestic security, but under the Dual Function (Dwi Fungsi) doctrine, they also guarantee observance of the Constitution of 1945 and the Five State Principles (Pancasila). The reasons why the ABRI should participate in public life date back to the time of the independence struggle (1945-1949) when the people rose up in arms to defend the state and nation. The Indonesian Armed Forces were born in that period and from that basic experience. The role of the ABRI became institutionalized in 1966 (beginning of the New Order) as a social-political force to preserve stability and ensure national development--the latter as a condition of that stability. The ABRI dual function is still needed, because it was proven after evaluating the facts that the ABRI dual function is required for all the progress and development of the state and nation. With

the nation facing the 21st century, the dual function will be focussing on national security in order to ensure that government programs will perform successfully in economic, political, cultural and technological activities.

To perform and to fulfill these conditions, the ABRI will create an internal plan which will address:

- A well-trained and protected populace.
- Development of the ABRI.
- The supporters. [Ref. 4]

1. Well-Trained and Protected Populace

a. *Development*

Development of people's skills will focus on the nation's and state's resilience, management, organization, and its materialization. Public order, people's protection, people's security, and people's resilience should ensure order to provide a national spirit. Materialization of the well-trained people will enhance national discipline and increasing state defense awareness.

b. *Development of Protection*

Development of protection for the society will be focussed on the realization of the society's capabilities. Resilience and environmental capabilities of society will be developed in a manner to achieve self initiative and to lessen the impact from catastrophes such as wars, natural disasters, etc.

2. Development of the ABRI

a. *Strong Defense*

Development of the ABRI will focus on a strong defense and stable security using the framework of materialization and resilience of state defense and security, in a manner to unify the nation and carry out the conditions and capabilities of the nation. A powerful defense and security is materialized in the form of stability, national endurance, regional stability, and the overall capabilities of the components of state defense and security. This is based on an awareness and willingness of the people to defend the nation.

b. *Sovereignty of the Nation*

Development of ABRI will focus on upholding the sovereignty of the nation on the land, at sea, and in the air ensuring the rule of law, security, and an orderly society through unification of the nation and striving to maintain a strong and dynamic nation. Development of the Army is the core of the state's regional defense, and security will be patterned on the Total People's System of Defense and Security. Development of the Navy is the core of the sea defense and security forces will ensure the nation's sovereignty and national jurisdiction. Development of the Air Force will constitute the core of the state's defense and security of its airspace and national jurisdiction. The development of Polri is the core of the security, public order and law enforcement

to ensure realization of the legal order and public tranquility. [Ref. 4]

c. The ABRI is the Core of State Defense and Security

The ABRI is the core of the state's defense and security, its development will focus on the ABRI with its professional, and high quality, and high mobility capabilities to project the National priorities and goals quickly. In an emergency the ABRI will be able to focus its strengths and capabilities.

d. The ABRI is to Execute its Function as a Defense and Security Force and as a Social Political Force

To execute its social political function, ABRI should be capable of taking the roles of stabilizer and dynamist. It should be an element of unification in national life, be an element of unification in national life, participate in development, strengthen constitutional life and democracy, and uphold the law in the framework of a firm national resilience. The role of the ABRI as the main body of state defense and security in the Total People's System of Defense and Security will be developed, applied, managed, and will be executed in a manner to unify the ABRI with the civilian government and society. [Ref. 4]

e. The ABRI as the Main Component of the State Defense and Security

The ABRI as the main component of the state defense and security will necessitate the development of bilateral cooperation with the Armed Forces of neighboring countries based on a mutual appreciation of each Nation's sovereignty. Increased cooperation will also enhance the ABRI's professionalism.

f. The System Security and Public Order

The system security and public order (duty of the state police) is continually developing and strives to prevent disturbances to the public order.

g. Modernization of ABRI

Modernization of ABRI will continue to enhance its capabilities in the personal welfare of its soldiers. The software and hardware of equipment will be modernized to match advances in science and technology and to maximize the ABRI's facilities, capabilities and effectiveness for the nation. [Ref. 4]

h. Development of the ABRI Reserves

Development of the ABRI reserves is focussed on realizing all the potential and strengths that exist in Indonesian society, not only facilities but human resources and services. When the need arises, these additional resourc-

es will enhance significantly the capabilities of the ABRI in its duties of state defense and security.

i. The ABRI Providing Services to Meet the Objectives of ABRI Masuk Desa (AMD)

The ABRI is a provider in the objectives of ABRI Masuk Desa (AMD); that is, ABRI contributes to their capabilities, to sustain national development and encourage the district development in maintaining the oneness of ABRI and the people. [Ref. 4]

3. Supporters

a. Development of Supporter Component

The development of the supporter component focusses on ensuring fluency, continuance, and unification of the state's defense and security and creating the condition of readiness needed to accomplish task in an emergency situation. For efficient development of the state's supporter component of defense and security, it is necessary to provide for the component in legislation.

b. Every Investment in Development of the State's Component Supporters of Defense and Security

Every investment in development of the state's component supporters of defense and security should realize the actual benefit according to the scientific and technological progress with life long cycles and should have additional benefits. It is necessary to be prepared for the capabilities

of the state's component supporters of defense and security to ensure the effective execution of the state's component supporters in various emergency levels.

The Strategic Industries and the Defense and Security Industries are elements of state component supporters. It is required to use scientific and technological research and development in order to sustain the ABRI's weapon system based on environmental needs following economic priority principles. [Ref. 4]

c. State Territory as One of the Element State Component Supporters of Defense and Security

State territory as one of the element state component supporters of defense and security needs to be prepared through the plan preparation of space arrangement on all levels in order to be able to participate as a manner of execution state defense and security, and adaptation between welfare execution and defense and security execution of "Archipelagic Look" and to strengthen "National Resilience". It will be necessary to inventory the reserve potency of strategic resources and stability of boundary lines of national territory in order to arrange strategic plans of state defense and security.

4. ABRI's Economic Role

In the economic field, ABRI should encourage the Indonesian middle class to play a role in broadening the middle class society. The ABRI is joining and developing system economics to create four national interests, namely BUMN[13], cooperations, and private and informal corporations. If the ABRI is loyal to its doctrine, the ABRI-supported economic strategy will boost the national economy supported by the entrenched Indonesian middle class.

5. ABRI's Social-Political Role

Pancasila democracy is the democracy that educates the citizens of their rights to a just society. ABRI should be aware of the various of class societies and endeavor to broaden its way.

To expand the awareness social justice in society, will be difficult and will require more sophistication. ABRI will not able to perform by itself. Thus, the ABRI will not solve all the problems without the majority of civilian cooperation. ABRI will never forget the role of the civilian; likewise, the civilian should give ABRI its proper place in social and politic policy. The civilian, in the near future, will still not be able to develop the state without

[13]Badan Umum Milik Negara or Agency general State-Own Companies.

cooperation from the ABRI. The problem is how and where ABRI's place should be in social and political development.

In the last 28 years, ABRI's role was dominant in all sectors. This can be understood due to the level of the society and Indonesia's development. The current situation has changed due to the success of the Dual Function. ABRI became the back bone in the development of the New Order. These changes have made the society more capable in continuing the national development. Therefore, the ABRI will open the way and encourage the society to play their role. [Ref. 4]

There are two important points that ABRI should perform :

- Assist the government in eliminating all obstacles in order to broaden participation and change regulations that hamper the participation of the society.
- Strengthen credibility as protector of all classes while to increasing its role as vanguard of national unification. These roles of protector and vanguard can be played better only if ABRI remains consistent to its loyalty to its doctrine-based Pancasila and Sapta Marga.

6. ABRI's Role in Technology

a. *The New Order*

Giving priority to economic development, from 1965 to 1966, Indonesia's new leaders were confronted with a particularly dramatic situation. On the one hand, the 1965 budget deficit ballooned to five times its initial size, inflation reached 650% in 1966, and the balance of payments was recording a huge deficit. Means of communications and

production were severely random, resulting in a general disruption of the economy. On the other hand, two persistent structural challenges had to be met:

- A high level of population growth aggravated by over population on Java Island, where 64% of the country's inhabitants lived in an area equal to 6.5% of the total land surface of the archipelago.
- A food shortage and increasing rice import [Ref. 14].

Both challenges can be summed up by a single figure--a per capita income of less than US $90.00 in 1966. [Ref. 14] The program carried out by General Suharto who was elected full President in March 1968 was aimed at normalizing political life and reviving economic development activities. The focus of the New Order was therefore to restore national stability and to create a favorable climate for economic development.

b. Development Pattern of National Industry

In 1975, the Development Pattern of National Industry (Pola Pengembangan Industrial National) was adopted to define the country's industrial strategy. The plan would commence in the beginning of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, i.e., 1994. The goal set for that year was, and still remains, economic take off driven by a resilient, self-propelling industry. The foundations of this industrial leap forward were to be laid during the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1984-1989), a decisive stage in the setting up of a full-fledged, indus-

trial sector, followed by a consolidation phase in the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1989-1994). To adapt to the industrialization pace since 1985, several approaches have been advocated, among them the technology-based strategy. If technology is not properly mastered, it could become an obstacle; while, if it is successfully applied, it can step up industrial development. In this context, industrial take off depends on a technological strategy, based on transfers of technology. It also requires mastery of energy, which is technology-intensive in its operations while remaining a significant source of income.

c. *Technological Development*

Technological development facing year 2000 is directed at mastering technology and engineering capabilities to innovate and to accelerate development of the people's welfare. Society will be encouraged to participate, master, and facilitate technology in order to develop competitive excellence. The capability will create the best quality in all products.

d. *Inter-Disciplinary Cooperation*

Inter-disciplinary cooperation will be used to develop technology and to increase engineering capabilities. This is necessary order to estimate inclination of technological development that utilizes more necessity multi-disciplinary work methods and standards of quality products.

C. FUTURE PREDICTIONS

ABRI has been integrated into the new state of Indonesia. Part of the ABRI has just been watching without doing anything (during the Parliamentary Democratic). The result was that many issues faced the government; for example, the government changed the cabinet several times (the longest was no more that 18 months). Instability became the main problem of the political system. Due to government partisanship and negligence, the people were suffering (poverty/hunger).

After 48 years of Indonesian independence and 28 years the New Order, it was evident that ABRI played a substantial role in changing the Indonesians' lives. There were three significant outcomes: First, the 1945 generation was almost over; second, as a result of the New Order, people had matured at all sectors, i.e., a broader education and civil rights awareness; third, rapid economic development in the past 25 years, resulted in many people fulfilling their physical needs and are now pursuing a political life.

The success of the New Order is due to the success of civilians together with ABRI and its Dual Function. This success created an economic and social climate that enabled the resurrection of the civilian population. In the early years of the New Order, civilians were very weak. They have now developed enough and are ready for the ABRI, working with the civilians to perform their full potential. It is time to

observe what will happen to national development as a result of the Dual Function.

According to this researcher's assumptions, the Dual Function of ABRI is still needed through the year 2000. To support these assumptions concerning the Dual Function ABRI in the future, it was necessary to conduct a survey in order to obtain data/opinions from the younger generation of civilians and ABRI students as mentioned above.

In this case, the target of the survey was all Indonesian officers and civilians who were studying at the Naval Postgraduate School and the International Defense Management Course during 1992 and 1993. There were seventeen officers and two civilians, consisting in all of three Colonels, four Lieutenant Colonels, six Majors, two Captains, and two civilians.

Researcher used a questionnaire in the form of a check list to obtain their opinions about Pancasila, Dual Function of ABRI, continuance of Dual Function in the future. The questions and the summary sample data can be seen in Appendix A. Their answer to question Number 7, can be summarized as follows:

- The Dual Function will promote and implant the awareness to safeguard the state and the social order for all people.

- Dual Function promotes national union and unity as a foundation for defense and security.

- The Dual Function enables people to feel more close and friendly with ABRI. This feeling will support ABRI in establishing the national defense and security.
- The Dual Function in establishing defense and security will support continuance of state's and nation's development in 21st century.

These summary sample data, seem to support the proposition that the younger generation of ABRI and civilians do support the Pancasila and the role of ABRI in national development under the Dual Function doctrine.

The sample was small, using only seventeen people because they were the only people available at the school. All seventeen are involved directly in the Indonesian government and are will informed on the subject of the observation. A stringent test would require a much larger sample administered in a more neutral environment.

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. CONCLUSIONS

Indonesia is a country which consists of many islands, rich in natural resources and strong in human potential. Its government structure is a unitary Republic based on the 1945 Constitution with Pancasila as the state philosophy and using the Dual Function of ABRI in its national defense and security system.

The Indonesian Armed Forces is familiar with the name of ABRI having contributed widely to modernization and national development. This thesis has illustrated the role of ABRI in society, and ABRI is officially formulated under the name of "Dwi Fungsi ABRI" or the Dual Function of the Indonesian Armed Forces, meaning two missions: first, as a defense and security force and second, as a social force. Ongoing roles from the beginning of Indonesia's independence in the Parliamentary Democracy or the Liberal Period, in the Old Order with its Guided Democracy during Sukarno as the first President, in the New Order during General Suharto as the second President until now, in how to Measure of the Institution, in the Leadership and Control the Dual Function ABRI, and what is the Future of the Dual Function ABRI, these are the authentic evidences that

the Dwi Fungsi of ABRI is in the right institution in Indonesia.

The Dual Function ABRI national development was declared by the Consultative Assembly (MPR) to be the spirit of service of the Armed Forces. Together with the other social forces it is responsible for the nation's welfare.

In the first point, as defense and security forces, ABRI is first to face hostilities that originate from without or within the country.

The ABRI has always come forward to help solve the problems that have confronted the country. When the national unity and safety has been in jeopardy, the ABRI has managed to uphold Indonesia's unity, secure the country's independence, and maintain national security against threats from Communists, radical Muslims, and the others.

The ABRI as a defense and security force and as a social force has been able to set up national stability. That is the best condition to support the acceleration of the national development.

The role of the Dwi Fungsi ABRI has created a strong foundation that will enable Indonesia to grow and develop towards a Pancasila-based, just and prosperous society. The ABRI has achieved their goal of military unity while centralizing the command structure.

Implementation of Dwi Fungsi ABRI in every Five-Year Development Plan was successful in various sectors. In the economic sector, the per capita income has risen eightfold. In the socio-political sector, internal and political development has improved now that the nation's energy is no longer tied up debating ideology. Therefore, Pancasila democracy has continued to be strengthened. Due to Indonesia's domestic successes, Indonesia is commanding an important regional and global role which is further strengthening her domestic concerns: economics, socio-cultural life, religion, and defense.

In measuring the institution of Dual Function ABRI, as vanguard in the ideological field, has an obligation to do things on behalf of and in harmony with Pancasila. The ABRI as stabilizer and as Dynamist has a strong historical background from the beginning of Indonesia's independence until the present period.

Leadership of Dwi Fungsi ABRI is the forming of character, identity, and control. It is the maintenance, intensification and consolidation of the services given by the ABRI as a social force that enables maximum efficiency and effectiveness.

In the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan (the Take-Off era, 1993/1994 through 1998/1999), the Dual Function ABRI will have a more challenging task to protect and to support

the state programs. To achieve the government goals, gathering all capabilities of state defense and security with the fundamental concept of the "Total People's System of Defense and Security, the ABRI will provide protection for the people to synchronize needs and capabilities and to develop into an efficient, effective, modernized, and capable force.

The role of the Dual Function ABRI in facing the 21st century, is to focus on national security in order to ensure the government's programs will perform successfully in economic activities. The ABRI will encourage the Indonesian middle class to play a role in broadening the middle-class society by creating four national interests, namely, BUMN, cooperations, private corporation, and informal corporations.

In political activities, ABRI will assist the government in eliminating obstacles in order to broaden participation of the society and to strengthen credibility as protector of all classes and increase its role as vanguard of national unification.

In technological activities, the government with its Dual Function is directed to master technology and engineering capabilities and to innovate and accelerate development of the people's welfare.

To fulfill these conditions, the ABRI create an internal plan are a well-trained and protected populace and development of the ABRI and the supporters.

The success of the New Order is due to the success of the Dual Function ABRI. The Dual Function, it is predicted, is still needed through at least the year 2000, because the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan is the transition period of the "take-off" era for the Second Long Term Twenty Five-year Development Plan. Without the economic results of the completion of the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan the social and economic structures will not exist to replace the Dual Function.

There is no plan to change the Dual Function with other systems, because the younger generation has seen and enjoyed the results of the national development that the Dual Function participates in.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS

The future of the Dual Function ABRI depends partly on the direction chosen for its development. There are two Dual Function approaches that can be applied to ABRI. The first approach is to increase education of the Dual Function to all levels of society so they are aware of how the Dual Function contributed to development growth and what plan the future plans are for ABRI. Based upon the discussion presented in previous chapters, the Dual Function ABRI has been successful in the last 28 years (The New Order, 1965-1993). It may be used as a milestone in facing the next 25-Year Development

Plan. The second approach encourages ABRI to develop their capabilities in all disciplines in order to enhance the future development of economic, political, culture, and technology.

It is recommended that ABRI establish a strategic plan:

- Increase professionalism and manage the concept of Dual Function more effectively.
- Increase ABRI Masuk Desa (AMD) activities, not only to help in constructing or making the bridges, constructing the roads, replanting the forest, but also educating in management, corporations, engineering and science.
- Explain about all of the government programs concerning development in their villages, and encourage participation in all development decisions so they actually contribute and take part in national development.

APPENDIX A
THE QUESTIONS AND SUMMARY SAMPLE DATA

1. Do you agree, that Pancasila can be changed by other ideology?

	Yes	No
Answers	0	17

2. Do you think Pancasila can guarantee the strength national unity?

	Yes	No
Answers	17	0

3. Do you think Communist ideology is better than Pancasila?

	Yes	No
Answers	0	17

4. Are the seven Pledge and Soldier's Oath a contradiction to the Pancasila?

	Yes	No
Answers	0	17

5. Is the application of Dual Function ABRI contradictory to the Seven Pledges and the Soldier's Oath?

	Yes	No
Answers	0	17

6. Do you think the implementation of the Dual Function ABRI will strengthen national unity and stability?

	Yes	No
Answers	17	0

7. Do you think the Dual Function of ABRI will still be needed in the 21st century?

	Yes	No
Answers	17	0

8. Do you agree with program civic duty of ABRI?

	Yes	No
Answers	17	0

9. What is the direct impact of the application of the Dual Function ABRI within government?

	Positive	Negative
Answers	17	0

10. What is the direct impact of the application of the Dual Function ABRI on the economy?

	Positive	Negative
Answers	17	0

11. What is direct impact of the application of the Dual Function ABRI on social welfare?

	Positive	Negative
Answers	17	0

12. One of the implementation of the Dual Function ABRI is AMD (Civic Mission Armed Forces for Rural Development). Do you think AMD has an impact to the national development?

	Yes	No
Answers	17	0

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